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CAROLI GODWYN, S.T.B.
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SOME

Familiar Letters

BETWEEN

Mr. LOCKE,

AND

Several of his Friends.

LONDON:

Printed for A. and J. CHURCHILL at the *Black Swan* in *Pater-noster Row*. 1708.

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TO THE READER.

THE following Letters offer'd to your perusal are the genuin productions of those Gentlemen to whom they are attributed.

They contain not only such civil and polite conversation as friendship produces among men of parts, learning, and candour; but several matters relating to literature, and more particularly to Mr. Locke's *notions, in his* Essay concerning Human Understanding, *and in some of his other works: And therefore I cannot doubt of your thanks for the present I make you. For tho' the curiosity of some to see whatever drops from the pens of great men, and to inform themselves in their private characters, their tempers, dispositions and manner of conversing with their friends, would perhaps have justify'd me in publish-*

publishing any letters of Mr. Locke's, *and of his friends to him (that were not letters of mere business) yet my regard to what I take to be the more general judgment of the publick, has determin'd me to publish such only as have relation to this twofold view, and shall determine me hereafter in a second volume, if Gentlemen that have any letters of* Mr. Locke's *by them think fit to communicate them to me.*

The Reader is desired to correct the following *Errata* with his pen.

PAG. 1. l. 16. for *for* l. *of*. P. 8. l. 24. for *proposal*. l. *proposal*; P. 9. l. 28. for *other* l. *others*. P. 16. l. 29. for *logicks* l. *logick*. P. 21. l. 25. for *complaint* l. *complement*. P. 41. l. 26. for *continued* read *contain'd*. P. 62. l. 23. dele *or*. P. 102. l. 27. for *were* l. *where*. P. 128. for *mystery*. l. *mystery*; P. 174. l. 15. after *of* add *a letter from*.

These Books following were writ by Mr. Locke.

AN Essay of Human Understanding in Fol.

Two Treatises of Government in 8*vo*.

3 Letters concerning Toleration, 4*to*.

The Reasonableness of Christianity, 8*vo*. With two Vindications of the same. 8*vo*.

Some Thoughts concerning Education. 8*vo*.

Several Papers relating to Money, Interest and Trade. 8*vo*.

Letter and two Replies to the Bp. of *Worcester*. 8*vo*.

Paraphrase and Notes on the Epistles to the *Galatians*, *Corinthians* 1st and 2d, *Romans*, and *Ephesians*. With a General Preface. 4*to*.

Several Posthumous Works. 8*vo*.

Mr.

Mr. LOCKE *to Mr.* MOLYNEUX.

SIR, *London*, 16. *July*, 1692.

THough the extraordinary complement you were pleased to make me in the Epistle Dedicatory † easily persuaded me from whom that present was likely to come, when at my coming to town I found your book left for me, by Mr. *Tooke*, at my bookseller's; yet my consciousness how little I could deserve the one or the other from you, made me fear some mistake, till enquiring of Mr. *Tooke* himself he assured me of the favour you had done me. I will not pretend

† Before *A Treatise of Dioptricks*, printed at *London* 1692. wherein it is said, That *to none do we owe for a greater advancement in this part of philosophy*, (*viz.* Logick,) *than to the incomparable Mr.* Locke, *who, in his* Essay for Humane Understanding, *hath rectified more received mistakes, and delivered more profound truths, establish'd on experience and observation, for the direction of man's mind in the prosecution of knowledge, (which I think may be properly term'd Logick) than are to be met with in all the volumes of the antients. He has clearly overthrown all those metaphysical whimsies, which infected mens brains with a spice of madness, whereby they feign'd a knowledge where they had none, by making a noise with sounds, without clear and distinct significations.*

to return you ſuch thanks as I ought, till I can write ſuch a book as yours is. Only give me leave to ſay, that if my trifle could poſſibly be an occaſion of vanity to me; you have done moſt to make it ſo, ſince I could ſcarce forbear to applaud my ſelf upon ſuch a teſtimony from one, who ſo well underſtands demonſtration, did I not ſee, that thoſe who can be extreme rigorous and exact in the ſearch of truth, can be as civil and as complaiſant in their dealing with thoſe whom they take to be lovers of it. But this cannot keep me from being out of countenance at the receipt of ſuch obligations, without the hopes of making ſuch returns as I ought. Inſtead of that, give me leave to do what is next to it, and let you ſee that I am not ſorry I am obliged to you. The bearer hereof, Dr. *Sibelius*, is a friend of mine, who comes to *Dublin* with a deſign to ſettle there, and I beg your aſſiſtance of him in what lies in your way. I ſhall take it as a Favour done to me. And methinks I have reaſon now to expect it of you, ſince you have done me, more than one, very great ones, when I had no Reaſon to expect any at all. Sir, you have made great advances of friendſhip towards me, and you ſee they are not loſt upon me. I am very ſenſible of them, and would make ſuch an uſe of them as might aſſure you I ſhould

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take it for a new favour, if you would afford me any occasion wherein I might, by any service, tell you how much I am,

SIR,

Your most humble, and

most obliged servant,

JOHN LOCKE.

I had the honour to know one of your name at *Leyden*, about seven or eight years since. If he be any relation of yours, and now in *Dublin*, I beg the favour of you to present my humble service to him.

Mr. MOLYNEUX *to Mr.* LOCKE.

SIR, *Dublin, August* 27. 1792.

UPon the arrival of our Lord Lieutenant in this place (which was on the 25th instant) I had the favour of a letter from you by the hands of Dr. *Sibelius*. I cannot easily tell you how grateful it was to me, having the highest esteem for him that sent it, from the first moment that

I was ſo happy as to ſee any of his writings; and therefore it was, that I was ſo ambitious of making a friendſhip with you, by preſenting you one of my trifles, which I order'd my bookſeller to lay before you under this character, *As a mean teſtimony of the great reſpect I had for the Author of the* Eſſay of Humane Underſtanding. And ſince I find by yours to me, that my ambition is not fallen ſhort of its deſign; but that you are pleaſed to encourage me by aſſuring me that I have made great advances of friendſhip towards you; give me leave to embrace the favour with all joy imaginable. And that you may judge of my ſincerity by my open heart, I will plainly confeſs to you, that I have not in my life read any book with more ſatisfaction, than your *Eſſay*; inſomuch that a repeated peruſal of it is ſtill more pleaſant to me.

And I have endeavour'd, with great ſucceſs, to recommend it to the conſideration of the ingenious in this place. Dr. *King*, Biſhop of *Derry*, when he read it, made ſome ſlight remarks on the foremoſt parts of the book; but his buſineſs would not permit him to go through it all. What he did, rough as it was, he gave to me, and they are at your commands, when you pleaſe.

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One thing I muſt needs inſiſt on to you, which is, that you would think of obliging the world, with *A Treatiſe of Morals*, drawn up according to the hints you frequently give in your *Eſſay*, of their being demonſtrable according to the mathematical method. This is moſt certainly true. But then the taſk muſt be undertaken only by ſo clear and diſtinct a thinker as you are. This were an attempt worthy your conſideration. And there is nothing I ſhould more ardently wiſh for, than to ſee it. And, therefore, good Sir, let me beg of you to turn your thoughts this way; and if ſo young a friendſhip as mine have any force, let me prevail upon you.

Upon my reading your *Eſſay*, I was ſo taken with it, that when I was in *London*, in *Auguſt* 1690, I made enquiry amongſt ſome of my learned friends for any other of your writings (if perhaps they knew any) I was recommended by ſome to *Two Diſcourſes concerning Government*, and a little *Treatiſe concerning Toleration*. There is neither of them carries your name; and I will not venture to ask whether they are yours or not: This, only, I think, no name need be aſhamed of either.

Dr. *Sibelius*, I find, is your friend, and therefore I aſſure him of all ſervice I can poſſibly do him. I will make it my buſi-

nefs to get him aquaintance in this place; and I dare promife him fome of the beft.

The inclofed, from my brother, will tell you that he was your acquaintance in *Leyden.* I my felf have been there, *anno* 1685, but had not the good fortune of being known to you. But from this time I fhall reckon my felf happy in your friendfhip, and fhall ever fubfcribe my felf,

Your moft affectionate, and

moft obliged, humble fervant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr. LOCKE *to Mr.* MOLYNEUX.

SIR, *London, Sept.* 20. 1692.

THere being nothing that I think of fo much value as the acquaintance and friendfhip of knowing and worthy men, you may eafily guefs how much I find my felf obliged, I will not fay by the offer of, but by the gift you have made me of yours. That which confirms me in the affurance of it is the little pretence I have to it. For, knowing myfelf, as I do, I cannot

not think ſo vainly of my ſelf as to imagine that you ſhould make ſuch overtures and expreſſions of kindneſs to me for any other end, but merely as the pledges and exerciſe of it. I return you therefore my thanks, as for the greateſt and moſt acceptable preſent you could have made me; and deſire you to believe, that ſince I cannot hope that the returns which I make you of mine ſhould be of any great uſe to you, I ſhall endeavour to make it up, as well as I can, with an high eſteem, and perfect ſincerity. You muſt therefore expect to have me live with you hereafter, with all the liberty and aſſurance of a ſettled friendſhip. For meeting with but few men in the world whoſe acquaintance I find much reaſon to covet, I make more than ordinary haſte into the familiarity of a rational enquirer after, and lover of truth, whenever I can light on any ſuch. There are beauties of the mind, as well as of the body, that take and prevail at firſt ſight; and wherever I have met with this, I have readily ſurrender'd my ſelf, and have never yet been deceived in my expectation. Wonder not therefore, if having been thus wrought on, I begin to converſe with you with as much freedom as if we had begun our acquaintance when you were in *Holland*; and deſire your advice and aſſiſtance

about a ſecond edition of my *Eſſay*, the former being now diſperſed. You have, I perceive, read it over ſo carefully, more than once, that I know no body I can more reaſonably conſult about the miſtakes and defects of it. And I expect a great deal more from any objections you ſhould make, who comprehend the whole deſign and compaſs of it, than from any one who has read but a part of it, or meaſures it, upon a ſlight reading, by his own prejudices. You will find, by my epiſtle to the reader, that I was not inſenſible of the fault I committed by being too long upon ſome points, and the repetitions, that by my way of writing of it, had got in, I let it paſs with, but not without advice ſo to do. But now that my notions are got into the world, and have in ſome meaſure buſtled through the oppoſition and difficulty they were like to meet with from the receiv'd opinion, and that prepoſſeſſion which might hinder them from being underſtood upon a ſhort propoſal; I aſk you whether it would not be better now to pare off, in a ſecond edition, a great part of that which cannot but appear ſuperfluous to an intelligent and attentive reader. If you are of that mind, I ſhall beg the favour of you to mark to me theſe paſſages which you would think fitteſt to be left out. If there

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be any thing wherein you think me mistaken, I beg you to deal freely with me, that either I may clear it up to you, or reform it in the next edition. For I flatter my self that I am so sincere a lover of truth, that it is very indifferent to me, so I am possess'd of it, whether it be by my own, or any other's discovery. For I count any parcel of this gold not the less to be valued, nor not the less enriching, because I wrought it not out of the mine my self. I think every one ought to contribute to the common stock; but to have no other scruple or shyness about the receiving of truth but that he be not impos'd on, and take counterfeit, and what will not bear the touch, for genuine and real truth. I doubt not but, to one of your largeness of thought, that in the reading of my book you miss several things, that perhaps belong to my subject, and you would think belongs to the system: If in this part too you will communicate your thoughts, you will do me a favour. For though I will not so far flatter my self as to undertake to fill up the gaps which you may observe in it, yet it may be of use where mine is at a stand, to suggest to others matter of farther contemplation. This I often find, that what men by thinking have made clear to themselves, they are apt to think, that upon the

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firſt ſuggeſtion it ſhould be ſo to others, and ſo let it go not ſufficiently explained; not conſidering what may be very clear to themſelves, may be very obſcure to others. Your penetration and quickneſs hinders me from expecting from you many complaints of this kind. But if you have met with any thing, in your reading of my book, which at firſt ſight you ſtuck at, I ſhall think it a ſufficient reaſon, in the next edition, to amend it for the benefit of meaner readers.

The remarks of that learned gentleman you mention, which you ſay you have in your hands, I ſhall receive as a favour from you.

Though by the view I had of moral ideas, whilſt I was conſidering that ſubject, I thought I ſaw that morality might be demonſtratively made out, yet whether I am able ſo to make it out is another queſtion. Every one could not have demonſtrated what Mr. *Newton*'s book hath ſhewn to be demonſtrable: but to ſhew my readineſs to obey your commands, I ſhall not decline the firſt leiſure I can get to employ ſome thoughts that way; unleſs I find what I have ſaid in my *Eſſay* ſhall have ſtir'd up ſome abler man to prevent me, and effectually do that ſervice to the world.

We had here, the 8th Inſtant, a very ſenſible earthquake, there being ſcarce

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an houſe, wherein it was not by ſome body or other felt. We have news of it at ſeveral places from *Cologn*, as far as *Briſtol*. Whether it reach'd you I have not heard. If it did, I would be glad to know what was the exact time it was felt, if any body obſerved it. By the Queen's pendulum at *Kenſington*, which the ſhake ſtop'd from going, it was 2 h. *poſt m.* At *Whitehall*, where I obſerved it, it was by my watch 2 h. 5 *m. poſt m.* Which ſuppoſing the Queen's pendulum went exact, and adding the æquation of that day, it will fall near the time marked by my watch, or a little later. If there could be found people that in the whole extent of it did, by well adjuſted clocks exactly obſerve the time, one might ſee whether it were all one ſhock, or proceeded gradually from one place to another.

I thank you for having taken Dr. *Sibelius* into your protection. I deſire you, with my ſervice, to preſent my moſt humble thanks to your brother for the favour of his letter; to which, though I have not time this poſt, to return an anſwer, I ſhall not long delay my acknowledgments.

I hope you will ſee, by the freedom I have here taken with you, that I begin to reckon my ſelf amongſt your acquaintance.

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Uſe me ſo, I beſeech you. If there be any ſervice I can do you here, employ me, with an aſſurance that I am,

SIR,

Your moſt humble, and

moſt faithful ſervant,

JOHN LOCKE.

Mr. MOLYNEUX *to Mr.* LOCKE.

SIR, *Dublin, Oct. 15. 92.*

I Do moſt heartily beg your pardon for my long ſilence to yours of the 20th laſt. Our then approaching parliament was the occaſion of my not returning you an immediate anſwer; and I expected withal to give you a more large account of ſome things you deſire from me. But ſeeing no immediate hopes of leiſure, by reaſon of our parliamentary buſineſs, I venture at preſent to ſend you only the incloſed rough papers. And till I can have an opportunity my ſelf of reviſing your book, I have put it into the hands of a very ingenious and learned perſon, who promiſes me to give

give his obſervations in writing, which as ſoon as obtain'd I ſhall tranſmit to you. ———The earthquake was not at all felt here.———I am wonderfully pleaſed that you give me hopes of ſeeing a *Moral Eſſay* from your hand; which I aſſure you, Sir, with all ſincerity, is highly reſpected by

Your moſt humble ſervant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr. MOLYNEUX *to Mr.* LOCKE.

SIR, *Dublin, Dec.* 22. 1692.

I Now ſit down to anſwer yours of *September* 20, concerning the ſecond edition of your book, wherein you deſire my opinion and advice. And after ſo long conſideration of the matter, as between that and this; and conſulting ſome ingenious heads here about it, I can ſay but little; only that the ſame judicious hand, that firſt form'd it, is beſt able to reform it, where he ſees convenient. I never quarrell'd with a book for being too prolix, eſpecially where the prolixity is pleaſant, and tends to the illuſtration of the matter in

in hand, as I am ſure yours always does. And after I received your letter on this ſubject, I communicated the contents thereof to two very ingenious perſons here; and at the ſame time I lent them your book, deſiring them to examine it ſtrictly, and to find out, and note whatever might be changed, added, or ſubſtracted. And after a diligent peruſal, they agreed with me in the ſame concluſion, *viz.* That the work, in all its parts, was ſo wonderfully curious, and inſtructive, that they would not venture to alter any thing in it. But however, that I may in ſome meaſure anſwer your expectations, I ſhall briefly note to you what I conceive on this ſubject.

And, 1*ſt*, The *Errata Typographica* (beſides thoſe mention'd in the table) are many and great; theſe therefore, in your next edition, are diligently to be corrected.

2*dly*, pag. 270. 'tis aſſerted, "That without a particular revelation we cannot be certain, that matter cannot think, or that omnipotency may not endow matter with a power of thinking.

And pag. 314, 315. "The immateriality of God is evinced from the abſolute impoſſibility of matters thinking". Theſe two Places, I know, have been ſtumbled at by ſome, as not conſiſtent. To me indeed they appear, and are, very agreeable; and

I have

I have clearly evinced their consistency to those that have scrupled them. But I thought fit to give you this hint, that in your next edition you may prevent any such doubt. My sense, of these two places, is this. In the first 'tis said, "That we "cannot tell, (without a particular reve-"lation to the contrary) but an almigh-"ty God can make matter think". In the other 'tis asserted, "That unthinking mat-"ter cannot be this almighty God". The next place I take notice of, as requiring some farther explication, is your discourse about man's liberty and necessity. This thread seems so wonderfully fine spun in your book, that at last the great question of liberty and necessity seems to vanish. And herein you seem to make all sins to proceed from our understandings, or to be against conscience, and not at all from the depravity of our wills. Now it seems harsh to say, that a man shall be damn'd, because he understands no better than he does. What you say concerning *genera* and *species* is unquestionably true; and yet it seems hard to assert, that there is no such sort of creatures in nature as birds: For though we may be ignorant of the particular essence that makes a bird to be a bird, or that determines and distinguishes a bird from a beast; or the just limits and boun-

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daries between each; yet we can no more doubt of a ſparrow's being a bird, and an horſe's being a beaſt, than we can of this colour being black, and t'other white; tho' by ſhades they may be made ſo gradually to vaniſh into each other, that we cannot tell where either determines.

But all this I write more in deference to your deſires from me, than to ſatisfie my ſelf that I have given you any material hints, or have offer'd any conſiderable objection that is worth your notice and removal. Mr. *Norris*'s unfortunate attempts on your book ſufficiently teſtify its validity; and truly I think he trifles ſo egregiouſly, that he ſhould forewarn all men how far they venture to criticiſe on your work. But this far, after all, I'll venture to intimate to you, that if you are for another work of this kind, I ſhould adviſe you to let this ſtand as it does. And your next ſhould be of a model wholly new, and that is by way of logick; ſomething accommodated to the uſual forms, together with the conſideration of extenſion, ſolidity, mobility, thinking, exiſtence, duration, number, *&c.* and of the mind of man, and its powers, as may make up a complete body of what the ſchools call logick, and metaphyſicks. This I am the more inclinable to adviſe on two accounts; Firſt, becauſe

cauſe I have lately ſeen *Johannis Clerici Logica*, *Ontologia* and *Pneumatologia*, in all which he has little extraordinary but what he borrows from you; and in the alteration he gives them, he robs them of their native beauties; which can only be preſerved to them by the ſame incomparable art that firſt framed them. Secondly, I was the firſt that recommended and lent to the reverend provoſt of our univerſity Dr. *Aſhe*, a moſt learned and ingenious man, your *Eſſay*, with which he was ſo wonderfully pleaſed and ſatisfied, that he has order'd it to be read by the Batchelors in the college, and ſtrictly examines them in their progreſs therein. Now a large diſcourſe in the way of a logick would be much more taking in the univerſities, wherein youths do not ſatisfie themſelves to have the breeding or buſineſs of the place, unleſs they are ingaged in ſomething that bears the name and form of logick.

This Sir is in ſhort what offers it ſelf to me at preſent concerning your work. There remains only that I again put you in mind of the ſecond member of your diviſion of ſciences, the *Ars Practica* or Ethicks; you cannot imagine what an earneſt deſire and expectation I have raiſed in thoſe that are acquainted with your writings by the hopes I have given them from your promiſe of

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endeavouring ſomething on that ſubject. Good Sir, let me renew my requeſts to you therein, for believe me, Sir, 'twill be one of the moſt uſeful and glorious undertakings that can imploy you. The touches you give in many places of your book on this ſubject are wonderfully curious, and do largely teſtifie your great abilities that way, and I am ſure the pravity of mens morals does mightily require the moſt powerful means to reform them. Be as large as 'tis poſſible on this ſubject, and by all means let it be in engliſh. He that reads the 45 ſection in your 129 page will be inflamed to read more of the ſame kind from the ſame incomparable pen. Look therefore on your ſelf as obliged by God almighty to undertake this taſk (pardon me Sir that I am ſo free with you as to inſiſt to your ſelf on your duty, who doubtleſs underſtand it better than I can tell you) ſuffer not therefore your thoughts to reſt till you have finiſh'd it, and God almighty ſucceed your labours, is and ſhall be the prayer of,

Worthy Sir,

Your intirely affectionate
humble ſervant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr.

Mr. LOCKE *to Mr.* MOLYNEUX.

SIR, *Oates 26 Dec. 1692.*

WHat ever has happen'd to give you leiſure ſooner than was expected I hope to receive ſome advantage by it. And that now you will be able to ſend me your own thoughts on my book together with the obſervations of your friend into whoſe hands you have put it with that deſign. I return you my humble thanks for the papers you did me the favour to ſend me in your laſt. But am apt to think you agree with me that there is very little in thoſe papers wherein either my Senſe is not miſtaken, or very little wherein the argument is directly againſt me. I ſuppoſe that learned gentleman if he had had the leiſure to read my *Eſſay* quite through would have found ſeveral of his objections might have been ſpared. And I can eaſily forgive thoſe who have not been at the pains to read the third book of my *Eſſay*, if they make uſe of expreſſions that when examined ſignifie nothing at all, in defence of hypotheſes that have long poſſeſs'd their minds. I am far from imagining my ſelf infallible.: but yet I ſhould be loath to differ from any thinking man, being fully perſuaded there are

very few things of pure ſpeculation, wherein two thinking men who impartially ſeek truth can differ if they give themſelves the leiſure to examin their hypotheſes and underſtand one another. I preſuming you to be of this make, whereof ſo few are to be found (for 'tis not every one that thinks himſelf a lover or ſeeker of truth who ſincerely does it) took the liberty to deſire your objections, that in the next edition I might correct my miſtakes. For I am not fond of any thing in my book becauſe I have once thought or ſaid it. And therefore I beg you if you will give your ſelf the Pains to look over my book again with this deſign to oblige me, that you would uſe all manner of freedom both as to matter, ſtile, diſpoſition, and every thing wherein in your own thoughts, any thing appears to you fit in the leaſt to be alter'd, omitted, explain'd or added. I find none ſo fit nor ſo fair judges as thoſe whoſe minds the ſtudy of mathematicks has open'd, and diſintangl'd from the cheat of words, which has too great an influence in all the other which go for Sciences: And I think (were it not for the doubtful and fallacious uſe is made of thoſe ſigns) might be made much more ſciences than they are.

I ſent order ſome time ſince that a poſthumous peice of Mr. *Boyle*'s ſhould be given

to

to your bookſeller in *London* to be convey'd to you. It is *a general hiſtory of the air*, which though left by him very imperfect, yet I think the very deſign of it will pleaſe you, and it is caſt into a method that any one who pleaſes may add to it, under any of the ſeveral titles, as his reading or obſervation ſhall furniſh him with mattter of fact. If ſuch men as you are, curious and knowing, would join to what Mr. *Boyle* had collected and prepared, what comes in their way, we might hope in ſome time to have a conſiderable hiſtory of the air, than which I ſcarce know any part of natural philoſophy would yeild more variety and uſe; but it is a ſubject too large for the attempts of any one man, and will require the aſſiſtance of many hands to make it a hiſtory very ſhort of compleat.

Since I did my ſelf the honour to write to your brother I have been very ill, to which you muſt pardon ſome part of the length of my ſilence. But my eſteem and reſpect for you is founded upon ſomething ſo much beyond compliment and ceremony, that I hope you will not think me the leſs ſo, though I do not every poſt importune you with repeated profeſſions that I am,

SIR,

Your moſt humble ſervant,

JOHN LOCKE.

Mr. LOCKE *to Mr.* MOLYNEUX.

SIR, *Oates*, 20 *Jan.* $9\frac{2}{3}$.

HAd I known I ſhould within ſo few days have receiv'd the favour of ſuch a letter as is yours of 22. *Dec.* I ſhould not have troubled you with mine, that went hence but a little before the receipt of yours. I was afraid, in reading the beginning of yours, that I had not ſo great an intereſt in you as I flatter'd my ſelf, and upon a preſumption whereof it was that I took the liberty ſo confidently to aſk your advice concerning the ſecond edition of my book. But what follow'd ſatisfied me, that it was your civility, and not reſervedneſs, made you tell me, that the ſame hand which firſt form'd it is beſt able to reform it. Could I flatter my ſelf ſo as to think I deſerv'd all that you ſay of me in your obliging letter, I ſhould yet think you a better judge of what is to be reform'd in my book than I my ſelf. You have given the world proofs of your great penetration, and I have received great marks of your candor. But were the inequality between us as much to my advantage as it is on the other ſide, I ſhould nevertheleſs beg your opinion. Whatſoever is our own, let us do what we can, ſtands

 a little

a little too near us to be view'd as it ſhould: and though we never ſo ſincerely aim at truth, yet our own thoughts, judging ſtill of our own thoughts, may be ſuſpected to overlook errors and miſtakes. And I ſhould think he valued himſelf more than truth, and preſum'd too much on his own abilities, who would not be willing to have all the exceptions could be made by any ingenious friend, before he ventur'd any thing into the publick. I therefore heartily thank you for thoſe you have ſent me, and for conſulting ſome of your friends to the ſame purpoſe: and beg the favour, if any thing more occurs from your own thoughts, or from them, you will be pleaſed to communicate it to me, if it be but thoſe *Errata Typographica* you meet with, not taken notice of in the table. I confeſs, I thought ſome of the explications in my book, too long, though turn'd ſeveral ways, to make thoſe abſtract notions the eaſier ſink into minds prejudiced in the ordinary way of education, and therefore I was of a mind to contract it. But finding you, and ſome other friends of mine, whom I conſulted in the caſe, of a contrary opinion, and that you judge the redundancy in it a pardonable fault, I ſhall take very little pains to reform it.

I confeſs what I ſay, page 270, compar'd with p. 314, 315. may, to an unwary reader, ſeem to contain a contradiction; but you, conſidering right, perceive that there is none. But it not being reaſonable for me to expect that every body ſhould read me with that judgment you do, and obſerve the deſign and foundation of what I ſay, rather than ſtick barely in the words, 'tis fit, as far as may be, that I accommodate my ſelf to ordinary readers, and avoid the appearances of contradiction, even in their thoughts. P. 314. I ſuppoſe matter in its own natural ſtate, void of thought, a ſuppoſition I concluded would not be deny'd me, or not hard to be prov'd if it ſhould: and thence I infer'd, matter could not be the firſt eternal being. But page 270. I thought it no abſurdity or contradiction to ſuppoſe, *That a thinking omnipotent being once granted, ſuch a being might annex to ſome ſyſtems of matter, ordered in a way that he thought fit, a capacity of ſome degrees of ſenſe and thinking.* To avoid this appearance of a contradiction in my two ſuppoſitions, and clear it up to leſs attentive readers, I intend in the ſecond edition to alter it thus, if you think it will do.

P. 270. l. 20. read, *For I ſee no contradiction in it, that the firſt eternal thinking being, or omnipotent ſpirit, ſhould, if he pleaſed,*

give

give to certain systems of created senseless matter, put together as he thinks fit, some degrees of sense, perception, and thought; though I judge it no less than a contradiction, to suppose matter (which is evidently, in its own nature, without sense and thought) should be the eternal first thinking being. What certainty of knowledge can any one have, that some perceptions, such as v. g. *pleasure and pain, should not be in some bodies themselves after*———

P. 315. l. 4. read, *Thought can never begin to be: For it is impossible to conceive that matter, either with or without motion, could have originally in and from itself sense, perception, and knowledge, as is evident from hence, that sense, perception, and knowledge must then be a property eternally inseparable from matter, and every particle of it. Not to add, that though our general or specifick conception of matter makes us speak of it as one thing, yet really all matter is not one individual thing, neither is there any such thing existing as one material being or one body, that we know or can conceive. And therefore, if matter were the eternal first cogitative being, there would not be one eternal infinite cogitative being: but an infinite number of finite cogitative beings, independent one of another, of limited force and distinct thoughts, which could never produce that order, harmony, and*

beauty is to be found in Nature. Since therefore whatſoever is the firſt eternal being muſt neceſſarily be cogitative: And whatſoever is firſt of all things———higher degree, it neceſſarily follows, that the eternal firſt being cannot be matter. Pray give me your opinion, whether, if I print it thus, it will not remove the appearance of any contradiction.

I do not wonder to find you think my diſcourſe about *liberty* a little too fine ſpun, I had ſo much that thought of it my ſelf, that I ſaid the ſame thing of it to ſome of my friends before it was printed, and told them that upon that account I judg'd it beſt to leave it out, but they perſuaded me to the contrary. When the connection of the parts of my ſubject brought me to the conſideration of *power*, I had no deſign to meddle with the queſtion of *liberty*, but barely purſued my thoughts in the contemplation of that power in man of chooſing or prefering, which we call the will, as far as they would lead me without any the leaſt byaſs to one ſide or other; or if there was any leaning in my mind, it was rather to the contrary ſide to that where I found my ſelf at the end of my purſuit. But doubting that it bore a little too hard upon man's liberty, I ſhew'd it to a very ingenious but profeſſed Arminian, and deſired him, after he had conſider'd it, to tell me his objections

if

if he had any, who frankly confeſſed he could carry it no farther. I confeſs, I think there might be ſomething ſaid, which with a great many men would paſs for a ſatisfactory anſwer to your objection; but it not ſatisfying me, I neither put it into my book, nor ſhall now into my letter. If I have put any fallacy on my ſelf in all that deduction, as it may be, and I have been ready to ſuſpect it my ſelf, you will do me a very acceptable kindneſs to ſhew it me that I may reform it. But if you will argue for or againſt liberty, from conſequences, I will not undertake to anſwer you. For I own freely to you the weakneſs of my underſtanding, that though it be unqueſtionable that there is omnipotence and omniſcience in God our maker, and I cannot have a clearer perception of any thing than that I am free, yet I cannot make freedom in man conſiſtent with omnipotence and omniſcience in God, though I am as fully perſwaded of both as of any truths I moſt firmly aſſent to. And therefore I have long ſince given off the conſideration of that queſtion, reſolving all into this ſhort concluſion, That if it be poſſible for God to make a free agent, then man is free, though I ſee not the way of it.

In the objection you raiſe about ſpecies I fear you are fallen into the ſame difficulty

I often

I often found my ſelf under when I was writing of that ſubject, where I was very apt to ſuppoſe diſtinct ſpecies I could talk of without names. For pray, Sir, conſider what it is you mean when you ſay, that *we can no more doubt of a ſparrow's being a bird, and an horſe's being a beaſt, than we can of this colour being black, and t'other white*, &c. but this, that the combination of ſimple ideas which the word *bird* ſtands for, is to be found in that particular thing we call a ſparrow. And therefore I hope I have no where ſaid, *there is no ſuch ſort of creatures in nature as birds*; if I have, it is both contrary to truth and to my opinion. This I do ſay, that there are real conſtitutions in things from whence theſe ſimple ideas flow, which we obſerv'd combined in them. And this I farther ſay, that there are real diſtinctions and differences in thoſe real conſtitutions one from another; whereby they are diſtinguiſhed one from another, whether we think of them or name them or no. But that that whereby we diſtinguiſh and rank particular ſubſtances into ſorts or *genera* and *ſpecies*, are not thoſe real eſſences or internal conſtitutions, but ſuch combinations of ſimple ideas as we obſerve in them. This I deſign'd to ſhew in *l.* iii. *c.* 6. If, upon your peruſal of that chapter again, you find any thing contrary to this, I beg the

favour

favour of you to mark it to me that I may correct it, for it is not what I think true. Some parts of that third book concerning words, though the thoughts were easy and clear enough, yet cost me more pains to express than all the rest of my *Essay*. And therefore I shall not much wonder if there be in some places of it obscurity and doubtfulness. It would be a great kindness from my readers to oblige me as you have done, by telling me any thing they find amiss; for the printed book being more for others use than my own, 'tis fit I should accomodate it to that as much as I can; which truly is my intention.

That which you propose of turning my *Essay* into a body of logick and metaphysicks, accomodated to the usual forms, though I thank you very kindly for it, and plainly see in it the care you have of the education of young scholars, which is a thing of no small moment, yet I fear I shall scarce find time to do it; you have cut out other work for me, more to my likeing and I think of more use. Besides that, if they have in this book of mine what you think the matter of these two sciences, or what you will call them, I like the method it is in better than that of the schools, where I think 'tis no small prejudice to knowledge, that predicaments, predicables, *&c.* being universally

in

in all their ſyſtems, come to be looked on as neceſſary principles or unqueſtionable parts of knowledge, juſt as they are ſet down there. If logick be the firſt thing to be taught young men, after grammar, as is the uſual method, I think yet it ſhould be nothing but propoſition and ſyllogiſme. But that being in order to their diſputing excerciſes in the univerſity, perhaps I may think thoſe may be ſpared too. Diſputing being but an ill (not to ſay the worſt) way to knowledge. I ſay this not as pretending to change or find fault with what publick allowance and eſtabliſh'd practice has ſetled in univerſities, but to excuſe my ſelf to you, from whom I cannot allow my ſelf to differ without telling you the true reaſons of it. For I ſee ſo much knowledge, candor, and the marks of ſo much good will to mankind in you, that there are few men whoſe opinion I think ought to have ſo much authority with me as yours. But as to the method of learning perhaps I may entertain you more at large hereafter; only now let me aſk you, ſince you mention logick and metaphyſicks in relation to my book, whether either of thoſe ſciences may ſuggeſt to you any new heads fit to be inſerted into my *Eſſay* in a ſecond edition.

You have done too much honour to me in the recommendation I ſee you have given

to

to my book, and I am the more pleaſed with it becauſe I think it was not done out of kindneſs to one ſo much a ſtranger to you as I then was. But yet, pray do not think me ſo vain that I dare aſſume to my ſelf almoſt any part of what you ſay of me in your laſt letter. Could I find in my ſelf any reaſon you could have to flatter me, I ſhould ſuſpect you reſolved to play the courtier a little. But I know what latitude civil and well-bred men allow themſelves with great ſincerity where they are pleaſed and kindneſs warms them. I am ſenſible of the obligation, and in return ſhall only tell you, that I ſhall ſpeedily ſet my ſelf to obey your commands in the laſt part of your letter. I beg your pardon for treſpaſſing ſo much on your patience, and am,

SIR,

Your moſt humble, and

moſt obliged ſervant.

J. LOCKE.

Mr.

Mr. Molyneux *to Mr.* Locke.

Honoured Sir, *Dublin, March* 2. 169$\frac{2}{3}$.

YOurs of *jan.* 20. came to my hands juſt as I lay down on a bed of ſickneſs, being a ſevere cholick, that held me nigh five weeks, and brought me very weak; this was the more grievous to me, in that it hinder'd me from giving that ready anſwer to your letters which I deſired; being very covetous, on all opportunities, of keeping up a correſpondence with one for whom I have ſo great a reſpect. I am now, God be thanked, pretty well recover'd, but yet weak, and have not yet ſtir'd abroad. I know the bare ſignifying this to you is ſufficient in my excuſe; ſo that relying on your pardon, I proceed to anſwer your laſt.

And firſt, Sir, believe me, that whatever reſpect I have at any time uſed to you, has been the ſincere thoughts of my heart, and not the vain complements that uſually paſs between courtiers, and how extravagant ſoever, are look'd upon as the effects of good breeding, and paſs only as ſuch by licenſe. I think I know a worthy man when I meet him, and they are ſo rare in the world, that no honour is too great for

thoſe

thoſe that are ſuch. And I muſt plainly ſay it to your ſelf, that ſo much humanity, candor, condeſcenſion, and good nature, joyn'd with ſo great judgement, learning, and parts, I have not met with in any man living, as in the author of the *Eſſay concerning humane underſtanding*. You ſo favourably entertain all men's objections, you are ſo deſirous to hear the ſenſe of others, you are ſo tender in differing from any man, that you have captivated me beyond reſiſtance. What you propoſe to add in thoſe places which I intimated to you, as ſeemingly repugnant to unwary readers, *pag.* 270. and 314, 315. is abundantly ſufficient; unleſs you may think it convenient, (for the prevention of all manner of ſcruple, and to ſhew your readers that you are aware of the objection that may be raiſed againſt theſe paſſages) to add in the margin a little note to that purpoſe, ſpecifying the ſeeming repugnancy that was in the firſt edition, and that for the clearing thereof, you have thus farther illuſtrated it in this. But this, as every thing elſe, I propoſe with all ſubmiſſion to your better judgment. Mentioning the marginal note to you, minds me to intimate, that I ſhould think it convenient in your next edition, to expreſs the abſtract or content of each ſection in the margin, and to ſpare (if you think fit) the table of *con-*

tents at the latter end of the book, tho' I think both may do beſt. I can aſſure you, for my own reading and conſulting your book, I have put the table of contents to their reſpective ſections throughout the whole.

I am fully convinced by the arguments you give me for not turning your book into the ſcholaſtick form of logick and metaphyſicks; and I had no other reaſon to adviſe the other, but meerly to get it promoted the eaſier in our univerſity; one of the buſineſſes of which places is to learn according to the old forms. And this minds me to let you know the great joy and ſatisfaction of mind I conceived on your promiſe of the method of learning; there could nothing be more acceptable to me than the hopes thereof, and that on this account: I have but one child in the world, who is now nigh four years old, and promiſes well; his mother left him to me very young, and my affections (I muſt confeſs) are ſtrongly placed on him: it has pleaſed God, by the liberal proviſions of our anceſtors, to free me from the toiling cares of providing a fortune for him; ſo that my whole ſtudy ſhall be to lay up a treaſure of knowledge in his mind, for his happineſs both in this life and the next. And I have been often thinking of ſome method for his in-

ſtruction,

ſtruction, that may beſt obtain the end I propoſe. And now, to my great joy, I hope to be abundantly ſupply'd by your method. And my brother has ſometimes told me, that whilſt he had the happineſs of your acquaintance at *Leyden*, you were upon ſuch a work as this I deſire; and that too, at the requeſt of a tender father, for the uſe of his only ſon. Wherefore, good Sir, let me moſt earneſtly intreat you, by no means to lay aſide this infinitely uſeful work, 'till you have finiſhed it; for 'twill be of vaſt advantage to all mankind, as well as particularly to me your entire friend. And on this conſideration of uſefulneſs to mankind, I will preſume again to remind you of your *diſcourſe of morality*; and I ſhall think my ſelf very happy, if by putting you on the thought, I ſhould be the leaſt occaſion of ſo great good to the world. What I have more to ſay relating to your book, is of little or no moment; however, you ſo readily entertain all men's thoughts of your works, that futile, as mine are, you ſhall have a remark or two more from me.

But firſt to your query, whether I know any new heads from logick or metaphyſicks to be inſerted in the ſecond edition of your *Eſſay*: I anſwer, I know none, unleſs you think it may not do well to inſiſt more par-

ticularly, and at large, on *Æternæ Veritates*, and the *Principium Individuationis*. Concerning the first you have some touches, pag. 281. sect. 31. p. 323. § 14. p. 345. § 14. and concerning the latter, pag. 28. sect. 4. p. 40. § 12.

Pag. 96. sect. 9. you assert, what I conceive is an error in fact, *viz. That a man's eye can distinguish a second of a circle, whereof its self is the center.* Whereas 'tis certain, that few mens eyes can distinguish less than 30 seconds, and most not under a minute, or 60 seconds, as is manifest from what Mr. *Hook* lays down in his animadversions on the first part of *Hevelii machina cælestis*, pag. 8, 9, *&c.* But this, as I said before, is only an error in fact, and affects not the doctrine laid down in the said section.

Pag. 341. sect. 2. you say, *the existence of all things without us (except only of God) is had by our senses.* And pag. 147. sect. 33, 34, 35, 36. you shew how the idea we have of God is made up of the ideas we have gotten by our senses. Now this, tho' no repugnancy, yet, to unwary readers, may seem one, and therefore perhaps may deserve a fuller expression. To me 'tis plain, that in pag. 341. you speak barely of the *existence* of a God; and in pag. 147. you speak of the *ideas* that are ingredient in the complex idea of God; that is, pag. 147. you say,

ſay, *That all the ideas ingredient in the idea of a God, are had from ſenſe*; and pag. 341. you only aſſert *that the* exiſtence *of this God, or that really there are united in one being all theſe ideas, is had, not from ſenſe, but demonſtration.* This, to me, ſeems your ſenſe, yet perhaps every reader may not ſo readily conceive it; and therefore, poſſibly you may think this paſſage, pag. 341. worth your farther conſideration and addition.

I will conclude my tedious lines with a jocoſe problem, that, upon diſcourſe with ſeveral concerning your book and Notions, I have propoſed to divers very ingenious men, and could hardly ever meet with one, that, at firſt daſh, would give me the anſwer to it, which I think true; till by hearing my reaſons they were convinced. 'Tis this; " Suppoſe a man born blind, and now " adult, and taught by his touch to diſtin- " guiſh between a cube and a ſphere (ſup- " poſe) of ivory, nighly of the ſame big- " neſs, ſo as to tell when he felt one and " t'other, which is the cube, which the " ſphere. Suppoſe then, the cube and " ſphere placed on a table, and the blind " man to be made to ſee; query whether " by his ſight, before he touch'd them, he " could now diſtinguiſh and tell which is " the globe, which the cube. I anſwer, " not; for tho' he has obtain'd the experi-

" ence of how a globe, how a cube affects
" his touch; yet he has not yet attain'd the
" experience, that what affects my touch
" so or so, must affect my sight so or so;
" or that a protuberant angle in the cube
" that press'd his hand unequally, shall ap-
" pear to his eye as it does in the cube.
But of this enough; perhaps you may find some place in your *Essay*, wherein you may not think it amiss, to say something of this problem.

I am extremely obliged to you for Mr. *Boyle's* book of the air, which lately came to my hands. 'Tis a vast design, and not to be finish'd but by the united labours of many heads, and indefatigably prosecuted for many years; so that I despair of seeing any thing complete therein. However, if many will lend the same helping hands that you have done, I should be in hopes: And certainly there is not a chapter in all natural philosophy of greater use to mankind, than what is here proposed. I am,

Worthy Sir,

Your most humble servant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr.

Mr. LOCKE *to Mr.* MOLYNEUX.

SIR, *London*, 28. *Mar.* 1693.

YOur ſilence that ſpared me a great deal of fear and uneaſineſs, by concealing from me your ſickneſs till it was well over, is abundantly made amends for by the joy it brings me in the news of your recovery. You have given me thoſe marks of your kindneſs to me, that you will not think it ſtrange that I count you amongſt my friends, and, with thoſe, deſiring to live with the eaſe and freedom of a perfect confidence, I never accuſe them to my ſelf of neglect or coldneſs, when I fail to hear from them ſo ſoon as I expected or deſired: though had I known you ſo well before as I do now, ſince your laſt letter, I ſhould not have avoided being in pain upon account of your health.

I cannot at all doubt the ſincerity of any thing you ſay to me; but yet give me leave to think, that 'tis an exceſs of kindneſs alone could excuſe it from looking like complement. But I am convinced you love your friends extremely, where you have made choice of them, and then believe you can never think nor ſpeak too well of them. I know not whether it belongs to a man

who gets once in print, to read in his book that it is perfect, and that the author is infallible. Had I had ſuch an *opinion* of my own ſufficiency before I writ, my *Eſſay* would have brought me to *another*, and given me ſuch a ſight of the weakneſs of my underſtanding, that I could not fail to ſuſpect my ſelf of error and miſtake in many things I had writ, and to deſire all the light I could get from others to ſet me right. I have found you one of the likelyeſt to afford it me; your clearneſs and candor gave me the confidence to aſk your judgment, and I take it for no ſmall aſſurance of your friendſhip that you have given it me, and have condeſcended to adviſe me of the printer's faults, which gives me hopes you have not concealed any you have obſerved in the work it ſelf. The marginal ſummaries you deſire, of the paragraphs, I ſhall take care to have added, were it only for your ſake, but I think too it will make the book the more uſeful.

That requeſt of yours you preſs ſo earneſtly upon me makes me bemoan the diſtance you are from me, which deprives me of the aſſiſtance I might have from your opinion and judgment, before I ventur'd any thing into the publick. 'Tis ſo hard to find impartial freedom in ones friends, or an unbyaſs'd judgment any where, that amongſt

mongſt all the helps of converſation and acquaintance, I know none more wanted, nor more uſeful, than ſpeaking freely and candidly ones opinion upon the thoughts and compoſitions of another intended for the preſs. Experience has taught me that you are a friend of this rank, and therefore I cannot but heartily wiſh that a ſea between us did not hinder me from the advantage of this good office. Had you been within reach I ſhould have beg'd your ſevere examination of what is now gone to the printer at your inſtance; I had rather I could have ſaid upon your peruſal, and with your correction. I am not, in my nature, a lover of novelty nor contradiction; but my notions, in this treatiſe, have run me ſo far out of the common road and practice, that I could have been glad to have had them allow'd by ſo ſober a judgment as yours; or ſtop'd, if they had appear'd impracticable or extravagant, from going any farther. That which your brother tells you, on this occaſion, is not wholly beſides the matter. The main of what I now publiſh, is but what was contain'd in ſeveral letters to a friend of mine, the greateſt part whereof were writ out of *Holland*. How your brother came to know of it I have clearly forgot, and do not remember that ever I communicated it to any body there. Theſe letters,

ters, or at leaſt ſome of them, have been ſeen by ſome of my acquaintance here, who would needs perſuade me 'twould be of uſe to publiſh them; your impatience to ſee them, has not, I aſſure you, ſlacken'd my hand, or kept me in ſuſpence: and I wiſh now they were out, that you might the ſooner ſee them, and I the ſooner have your opinion of them. I know not yet whether I ſhall ſet my name to this diſcourſe, and therefore ſhall deſire you to conceal it. You ſee I make you my confeſſor, for you have made your ſelf my friend.

The faults of the preſs are, I find upon a ſedate reading over of my book, infinitely more than I could have thought; thoſe that you have obſerved I have corrected, and return you my thanks; and, as far as I have gone in my review, have added and alter'd ſeveral things, but am not yet got ſo far as thoſe places you mark for the *æternæ veritates*, and *principium individuationis*, which I ſhall conſider when I come to them, and endeavour to ſatisfie your deſire. *Malebranche's hypotheſis of ſeeing all things in God* being that from whence I find ſome men would derive our ideas, I have ſome thoughts of adding a new chapter, wherein I will examine it, having, as I think, ſomething for to ſay againſt it, that will ſhew the weakneſs of it very clearly. But I have

have ſo little love to controverſy, that I am not fully reſolv'd. Some other additions I have made, I hope will not diſpleaſe you, but I wiſh I could ſhew them you before they are in print; for I would not make my book bigger, unleſs it were to make it better.

I thank you for adviſing me of the error about ſight, for indeed it was a great one in matter of fact, but it was in the expreſſion, for I meant a minute, but, by miſtake, call'd $\frac{1}{60}$ of a degree a ſecond. Your ingenious problem will deſerve to be publiſhed to the world.

The ſeeming contradiction between what is ſaid p. 147. and p. 341. is juſt as you take it, and I hope ſo clearly expreſſed, that it cannot be miſtaken, but by a very unwary reader, who cannot diſtinguiſh between an idea in the mind, and the real exiſtence of ſomething out of the mind anſwering that idea. But I heartily thank you for your caution, and ſhall take care how to prevent any ſuch miſtake when I come to that place. My humble ſervice to your brother. I am,

SIR,

Your moſt humble ſervant,

JOHN LOCKE.

Mr.

Mr. MOLYNEUX *to Mr.* LOCKE.

SIR, *Dublin, Apr.* 18. 1693.

I Have lately received farther teſtimonies of your kindneſs and friendſhip to me in your laſt of *march* 28. which brings withal the welcome news of your having committed your work *of education* to the preſs; than which, I know not any thing that I ever expected with a more earneſt deſire. What my brother told me, relating to that treatiſe, he had from your ſelf in *Holland*; but perhaps you might have forgot what paſs'd between you on that occaſion. I perceive you fear the novelty of ſome notions therein may ſeem extravagant; but, if I may venture to judge of the author, I fear no ſuch thing from him. I doubt not, but the work will be new and peculiar, as his other performances; and this 'tis that renders them eſtimable and pleaſant. He that travels the beaten roads may chance indeed to have company; but he that takes his liberty, and manages it with judgment, is the man that makes uſeful diſcoveries, and moſt beneficial to thoſe that follow him. Had *Columbus* never ventur'd farther than his predeceſſors, we had yet been ignorant of a vaſt part of our earth, preferable (as

ſome

ſome ſay) to all the other three. And, if none may be allow'd to try the ocean of philoſophy farther than our anceſtors, we ſhall have but little advancements, or diſcoveries, made in the *mundus intellectualis*; wherein, I believe, there is much more unknown than what we have yet found out.

I ſhould very much approve of your adding a chapter in your *Eſſay*, concerning *Malebranche's hypotheſis*. As there are enthuſiaſms in divinity, ſo there are in philoſophy; and as one proceeds from not conſulting, or miſapprehending the book of God, ſo the other from not reading and conſidering the book of nature. I look upon *Malebranche*'s notions, or rather *Plato*'s, in this particular, as perfectly unintelligible. And if you will engage in a philoſophick controverſy, you cannot do it with more advantage than in this matter. What you lay down concerning our ideas and knowledge, is founded and confirm'd by experiment and obſervation, that any man may make in himſelf, or the children he converſes with wherein he may note the gradual ſteps that we make in knowledge. But *Plato*'s fancy has no foundation in nature, but is meerly the product of his own brain.

I know 'tis none of your buſineſs to engage in controverſy, or remove objections; ſave

ſave only ſuch as ſeem immediately to ſtrike at your own poſitions; and therefore I cannot inſiſt upon what I am now going to mention to you. However I will give you the hint, and leave the conſideration thereof to your own breaſt. The 10th chapter of your ivth book is a moſt exact demonſtration of the *exiſtence of a God.* But perhaps it might be more full, by an addition againſt the *eternity of the world*, and that all things have not been going on in the ſame manner as we now ſee them, *ab æterno.* I have known a pack of philoſophical atheiſts, that rely much on this hypotheſis; and even *Hobbs* himſelf does ſomewhere alledge, (if I am not forgetful, 'tis in his book *de corpore*, in the chapter *de univerſo*) *That the ſame arguments which are brought againſt the eternity of the world, may ſerve as well againſt the eternity of the Creator of the world.* I am,

Honour'd Sir,

Your moſt affectionate,

devoted ſervant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr.

Mr. LOCKE *to Mr.* MOLYNEUX.

SIR, *London*, 15. *July*. 1693.

I Had not been ſo long before I had acknowledg'd the favour of your laſt, had not I a deſign to give you at large an account of ſome alterations I intended to make in the chapter of *Power*, wherein I ſhould have been very glad you had ſhewn me any miſtake. I my ſelf, not being very well ſatisfied, by the concluſion I was lead to, that my reaſonings were perfectly right, review'd that chapter again with great care, and by obſerving only the miſtake of one word (*viz.* having put *things* for *actions*, which was very eaſy to be done in the place where it is, *viz.* p. 123. as I remember, for I have not my book by me here in town) I got into a new view of things, which, if I miſtake not, will ſatisfie you, and give a clearer account of humane freedom than hitherto I have done, as you will perceive by theſe ſummaries of the following ſections of that chapter:

§ 28. *Volition is the ordering of ſome action by thought.*

§ 29. *Uneaſineſs determines the will.*

§ 30. Will *muſt be diſtinguiſh'd from* deſire.

§ 31.

§ 31. *The greater good in view barely consider'd determines not the* will. *The joys of heaven are often neglected.*

§ 32. *Desire determines the will.*

§ 33. *Desire is an uneasiness.*

§ 34. *The greatest present uneasiness usually determines the* will, *as is evident in experience. The reasons,*

§ 35. *Because uneasiness being a part of unhappiness which is first to be removed in our way to happiness.*

§ 36. *Because uneasiness alone is present.*

§ 37. *The uneasiness of other passions have their share with desire.*

§ 38. *Happiness alone moves the desire.*

§ 39. *All absent good not desired, because not necessary to our happiness.*

§ 40. *The greatest uneasiness does not always determine the will, because we can suspend the execution of our desires.*

This short scheme may perhaps give you so much light into my present hypothesis, that you will be able to judge of the truth of it, which I beg you to examine by your own mind. I wish you were so near that I could communicate it to you at large, before it goes to the press. But it is so much too long for a letter, and the press will be so ready to stay for it before it is finished, that I fear I shall not be able to have the

advantage

advantage of your thoughts upon the whole thread of my deduction. For I had much rather have your corrections, whilst they might contribute to make it receive your approbation, than flatter my self before hand that you will be pleased with it.

I hope, e're this, you have received from Mr. that which I promis'd you the beginning of this spring. I must desire your opinion of it without reserve, for I should not have ventur'd, upon any other condition, to have own'd and presented to you such a trifle. I am,

SIR,

Your most humble servant,

JOHN LOCKE.

Mr. MOLYNEUX *to Mr.* LOCKE.

SIR, *Dublin, August* 12. 1693.

YOurs of *July* 15. came to my hands about a fortnight since; and I had, e're this, acknowledged the favour thereof, but that I waited the arrival of your much desired piece, *Of Education*, which came not

to me till about three days ago. I immediately ſet my ſelf to read it, as all things from its author, with the utmoſt attention; and I find it anſwerable to the higheſt expectations I had of it. And ſince, with your uſual modeſty, you are pleaſed to require my thoughts more particularly concerning it, I ſhall, with all freedom, but at the ſame time with all deference, propoſe them to you, not doubting of your favourable interpretation and pardon, where you ſee it needful. And firſt, in general, I think you propoſe nothing in your whole book but what is very reaſonable, and very practicable, except only in one particular, which ſeems to bear hard on the tender ſpirits of children, and the natural affections of parents: 'Tis pag. 117, 118. where you adviſe, *That a child ſhould never be ſuffer'd to have what he* craves, *or ſo much as* ſpeaks for, *much leſs if he* cries for it. I acknowledge what you ſay in explaining this rule, ſect. 101. in relation to natural wants, eſpecially that of *hunger*, may be well enough allow'd; but in ſect. 102. where you come to apply it to *wants of fancy and affectation*, you ſeem too ſtrict and ſevere. You ſay indeed, *this will teach them to ſtifle their deſires, and to practiſe modeſty and temperance*; but for teaching theſe vertues, I conceive, we ſhall have occaſions enough in relation to

their

their hurtful desires, without abridging them so wholly in matters indifferent and innocent, that tend only to divert and please their busy spirits. You allow indeed, *that 'twould be inhumanity to deny them those things one perceives would delight them*; if so, I see no reason why, in a modest way, and with submission to the wills of their superiors, they may not be allow'd to declare what will delight them. No, say you; *but in all wants of fancy and affectation, they should* never, *if once* declared, *be hearken'd to, or comply'd with.* This I can never agree to, it being to deny that liberty between a child and its parents, as we desire, and have granted us, between man and his Creator. And, as in this case, man is allow'd to declare his wants, and with submission to recommend his requests to God, so I think children may be allow'd by their parents or governours. And as between the creature and Creator all manner of repining upon denyal or disappointment is forbidden, so in the case of children, all frowardness or discontent upon a refusal, is severely to be reprimanded. But thus far I agree with you in the whole, that whether it be in wants natural or fanciful, that they express their desires in a froward humoursome manner, there they should be surely deny'd them. A far-

ther reaſon for my allowing children a liberty of expreſſing their innocent deſires, is, that the contrary is impracticable; and you muſt have the children almoſt moaped for want of diverſion and recreation, or elſe you muſt have thoſe about them ſtudy nothing all day but how to find employment for them; and how this would rack the invention of any man alive, I leave you to judge. And beſides, were it an eaſy taſk for any adult perſon to ſtudy the fancy, the unaccountable fancy and diverſion of children, the whole year round; yet it would not prove delightful to a child, being not his own choice. But this, you'll ſay, is what you would have imprinted on them, that they are not to chooſe for themſelves; but why not, in harmleſs things, and plays or ſports, I ſee no reaſon. In all things of moment let them live by the conduct of others wiſer than themſelves.

This, Sir, is all, that in your whole book I ſtick at; to all the reſt I could ſubſcribe. And I am not a little pleas'd, when I conſider that my own management of my only little one has hitherto been agreeable, in the main, to your rules, ſave only in what relates to his hardy breeding, which I was cautious in, becauſe he is come from a tender and ſickly mother; but the child himſelf is hitherto (God be thanked)

very

very healthful, though not very ſtrong.

The rules you give for the correcting of children, and implanting in their minds an early ſenſe of praiſe and diſpraiſe, of repute and diſhonour, are certainly very juſt.

The contrivances you propoſe for teaching them to read and write, are very ingenious. And becauſe I have practiſed one much of the ſame nature, I'll venture to deſcribe it, " 'Tis by writing ſyllables and " words in print-hand, on the face of a " pack of cards, with figures or cyphers " adjoyn'd to each word; by which I can " form twenty ſeveral ſorts of games, that " ſhall teach children both to read and " count at the ſame time; and this with " great variety. One thing more I ſhall venture to add to what you direct concerning writing; that is, I will have my ſon taught ſhort-hand; I do not mean, to that perfection as to copy a ſpeech from the mouth of a ready ſpeaker, but to be able to write it readily for his own private buſineſs. Believe me, Sir, 'tis as uſeful a knack as a man of buſineſs, or any ſcholar can be maſter of, and I have found the want of it my ſelf, and ſeen the advantage of it in others frequently.

You are certainly in the right of it, relating to the manner of acquiring languages, *French*, *Latin*, and in what you lay down

concerning grammar ſchools, themes, verſes, and other learning. But above all, what you direct in every particular for the forming of childrens minds, and giving them an early turn to morality, vertue, religion, *&c.* is moſt excellent. And I can only ſay in general, that I can give no better proof of my liking your book in all theſe precepts, than by a ſtrict obſervance of them in the education of my own ſon, which I ſhall purſue (God willing) as exactly as I can. One thing, I fear, I ſhall be at a loſs in, that is, a tutor agreeable to the character you preſcribe. But in this neither ſhall my endeavours be wanting, tho' I leave him the worſe eſtate, to leave him the better mind.

I could heartily have wiſh'd you had been more particular in naming the authors you would adviſe gentlemen to read, and be converſant in, in the ſeveral parts of learning you recommend to their ſtudy. Had you done this, I know no *logick* that deſerves to be named, but the *Eſſay of Humane Underſtanding*. So that I fear you would rather have left that head open, than recommended your own work.

The laſt thing I ſhall take notice of, is, what mightily pleaſes me, it being the very thought of my own mind theſe many years; which is, your *recommending a manual*

nual trade to all gentlemen. This I have ever been for, and have wonder'd how it comes to paſs that 'tis ſo generally neglected; but the lazy effeminate luxurioufneſs that overruns the nation, occaſions the neglect thereof. *Painting* I have ever deſigned for my ſon, but you have raiſed two objections againſt it, that are not eaſily anſwer'd, eſpecially its taking up ſo much time to attain a maſtery in it.

I have now given you my opinion of your book, and now I am obliged to thank you for ſending me a preſent which I ſo highly value.

As to that part of your letter relating to the alterations you have made in your *Eſſay* concerning *man's liberty*, I dare not venture, upon thoſe ſhort hints you give me, to paſs my opinion. But, now that you have diſcovered it to me, I plainly perceive the miſtake of ſect. 28. pag. 123. where you put *thing* for *action*. And I doubt not, but in your next edition, you will fully rectify this matter. And I could adviſe you to haſten that edition with what ſpeed you can, leſt foreigners undertake a tranſlation of your firſt, without your ſecond thoughts. Thus they have ſerved me, by tranſlating into *latin*, and printing my *Dioptricks* in *Holland*, when I have now by me a tranſlation of

my own of that work, with many amendments and large additions.

Pray, Sir, let me beg the favour of your correſpondence as frequently as you can, for nothing is more acceptable to

Your moſt obliged,

humble ſervant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr. LOCKE *to Mr.* MOLYNEUX.

SIR, *Oates, 23 Aug. 1693.*

YOurs of *Auguſt* 12. which I received laſt night, eaſed me of a great deal of pain your ſilence had for ſome time put me in; for you muſt allow me to be concern'd for your health, as for a friend that I could not think in danger or a diſeaſe without a concern and trouble ſuitable to that great eſteem and love I have for you. But you have made me amends plentifully by the length and kindneſs, and, let me add too, the freedom of your letter. For the approbation you ſo largely give to my book

is the more welcome to me, and gives me the better opinion of my method, becauſe it has joyn'd with it your exception to one rule of it; which I am apt to think you your ſelf, upon ſecond thoughts, will have remov'd, before I ſay any thing to your objections. It confirms to me that you are the good natur'd man I took you for: and I do not at all wonder that the affection of a kind father ſhould ſtartle at it at firſt reading, and think it very ſevere that children ſhould not be ſuffer'd to expreſs their deſires; for ſo you ſeem to underſtand me. And ſuch a reſtraint, you fear, *would be apt to moap them, and hinder their diverſion.* But if you pleaſe to look upon the place, and obſerve my drift, you will find that they ſhould not be indulged, or complied with, in any thing their conceits have made a want to them, as neceſſary to be ſupplied. What you ſay, *that children would be moap'd for want of diverſion and recreation, or elſe we muſt have thoſe about them ſtudy nothing all day, but how to find employment for them; and how this would rack the invention of any man living, you leave me to judge,* ſeems to intimate, as if you underſtood that children ſhould do nothing but by the preſcription of their parents or tutors, chalking out each action of the whole day in train to them. I hope my words expreſs no ſuch thing,

thing, for it is quite contrary to my ſenſe, and I think would be uſeleſs tyranny in their governors, and certain ruin to the children. I am ſo much for recreation that I would, as much as poſſible, have all they do be made ſo. I think recreation as neceſſary to them as their food, and that nothing can be recreation which does not delight. This, I think, I have ſo expreſſed, and when you have put that together, judge whether I would not have them have the greateſt part of their time left to them, without reſtraint, to divert themſelves any way they think beſt, ſo it be free from vitious actions, or ſuch as may introduce vitious habits. And therefore if they ſhould aſk to play, it could be no more interpreted *a want of fancy*, than if they aſked for victuals when hungry; though where the matter is well order'd, they will never need to do that. For when they have either done what their governor thinks enough in any application to what is uſually made their buſineſs, or are perceiv'd to be tir'd with it, they ſhould of courſe be diſmiſſed to their innocent diverſions, without ever being put to aſk for it. So that I am for the full liberty of diverſion, as much as you can be, and, upon a ſecond peruſal of my book, I do not doubt but you will find me ſo. But being allow'd that, as one of their natural

wants,

wants, they ſhould not yet be permitted to let looſe their deſires in importunities for what they fancy. Children are very apt to covet what they ſee thoſe above them in age have or do, to have or do the like, eſpecially if it be their elder brothers and ſiſters. Does one go abroad? the other ſtreight has a mind to it too. Has ſuch an one new or fine cloaths, or play-things? they, if you once allow it them, will be impatient for the like, and think themſelves ill dealt with if they have it not. This being indulged when they are little, grows up with their age, and with that enlarges it ſelf to things of greater conſequence, and has ruin'd more families than one in the world. This ſhould be ſuppreſſed in its very firſt riſe, and the deſires you would not have encourag'd you ſhould not permit to be ſpoken, which is the beſt way for them to ſilence them to themſelves. Children ſhould, by conſtant uſe, learn to be very modeſt in owning their deſires, and careful not to aſk any thing of their parents but what they have reaſon to think their parents will approve of. And a reprimand upon their ill bearing a refuſal comes too late, the fault is committed and allow'd; and if you allow them to aſk, you can ſcarce think it ſtrange they ſhould be troubl'd to be deny'd; ſo that you ſuffer them to engage

gage themſelves in the diſorder, and then think the fitteſt time for a cure, and, I think, the ſureſt and eaſieſt way is prevention. For we muſt take the ſame nature to be in children, that is in grown men; and how often do we find men take ill to be deny'd what they would not have been concern'd for if they had not aſked. But I ſhall not enlarge any farther in this, believing you and I ſhall agree in the matter; and indeed it is very hard, and almoſt impoſſible to give general rules *of education*, when there is ſcarce any one child, which, in ſome caſes, ſhould not be treated differently from another. All that we can do in general, is only to ſhew what parents and tutors ſhould aim at, and leave to them the ordering of particular circumſtances as the caſe ſhall require.

One thing give me leave to be importunate with you about: You ſay your ſon is not very ſtrong; to make him ſtrong, you muſt uſe him hardly, as I have directed; but you muſt be ſure to do it by very inſenſible degrees, and begin any hardſhip you would bring him to only in the ſpring. This is all the caution needs be uſed. I have an example of it in the houſe I live in, where the only ſon of a very tender mother was almoſt deſtroy'd by a too tender keeping. He is now, by a contrary uſage, come to bear

wind and weather, and wet in his feet; and the cough which threatned him, under that warm and cautious management, has left him, and is now no longer his parents conſtant apprehenſion as it was.

I am of your mind as to ſhort hand, I my ſelf learn'd it ſince I was a man, but had forgot to put it in when I writ, as I have, I doubt not, overſeen a thouſand other things, which might have been ſaid on this ſubject. But it was only at firſt a ſhort ſcheme for a friend, and is publiſh'd to excite others to treat it more fully.

I know not whether it would be uſeful to make a catalogue of authors to be read by a young man, or whether it could be done, unleſs one knew the child's temper, and what he was deſigned to.

My *Eſſay* is now very near ready for another edition, and upon review of my alterations, concerning what determines the *will*, in my cool thoughts I am apt to think them to be right, as far as my thoughts can reach in ſo nice a point, and in ſhort is this. *Liberty* is a power to act or not to act, accordingly as the mind directs. A power to direct the operative faculties to motion or reſt in particular inſtances, is that which we call the *will*. That which in the train of our voluntary actions determines the will to any change of operation,

is

is ſome preſent *uneaſineſs*, which is, or at leaſt is always accompanyed with that of *deſire*. *Deſire* is always moved by evil to fly it; becauſe a total freedom from pain always makes a neceſſary part of our happyneſs. But every *good*, nay every *greater good*, does not conſtantly move deſire, becauſe it may not make, or may not be taken to make any neceſſary part of our happineſs; for all that we deſire is only to be happy. But though this general deſire of happineſs operates conſtantly and invariably in us, yet the ſatisfaction of any particular deſire can be ſuſpended from determining the will to any ſubſervient action, till we have maturely examin'd whether the particular apparent good we then deſire make a part of our real happineſs, or be conſiſtent or inconſiſtent with it. The reſult of our judgment, upon examination, is what ultimately determines the man, who could not be *free*, if his will were determin'd by any thing but his own deſire, guided by his own judgment. This, in ſhort, is what I think of this matter, I deſire you to examine it by your own thoughts. I think I have ſo well made out the ſeveral particulars where I treat them at large, that they have convinced ſome I have ſhewn them to here, who were of another mind; and therefore how much ſoever contrary to the receiv'd

opinion

opinion I think I may publiſh them; but I would firſt have your judicious and free thoughts, which I much rely on; for you love truth for it ſelf, and me ſo well as to tell it me without diſguiſe.

You will herewith receive a new chapter *Of Identity and Diverſity*, which, having writ only at your inſtance, 'tis fit you ſhould ſee and judge of before it goes to the preſs. Pray ſend me your opinion of every part of it. You need not ſend back the papers, but your remarks on the paragraphs you ſhall think fit, for I have a copy here.

You deſir'd me too to enlarge more particularly about eternal verities, which, to obey you, I ſet about, but upon examination find all general truths are eternal verities, and ſo there is no entring into particulars; though, by miſtake, ſome men have ſelected ſome as if they alone were eternal verities. I never, but with regret, reflect on the diſtance you are from me, and am,

SIR,

Your moſt humble ſervant,

J. LOCKE.

Mr.

Mr. MOLYNEUX *to Mr.* LOCKE.

Honoured Sir, *Dublin, Sept.* 16. 1693.

I Have yours from *Oates* of *Aug.* 23, with your chapter of *identity* and *diverſity*; and I acknowledge my ſelf extremely obliged to you for being at all that thought on my account. However, I repent not of the trouble I gave you therein, ſeeing the effects thereof, ſuch clear reaſoning and profound judgment, that convinces and delights at once. And I proteſt, Sir, 'tis to me the hardeſt taſk in the world, to add any thing to, or make any remarks upon what you deliver therein; every thing you write therein is deliver'd with ſuch convincing reaſon, that I fully aſſent to all. And to make remarks where I have no room to ſay any thing, would pleaſe neither you nor my ſelf. And to ſhew you that I would not wholly rely on my own examination of your chapter, I imparted it to others, deſiring their cenſure of it; but ſtill with the ſame event, all acknowledg'd the clearneſs of the reaſoning, and that nothing more was left to be ſaid on the ſubject.

The anſwer you make to what I writ on your thoughts *of education*, does fully ſatisfie me. But I aſſure you, Sir, I was not the

the only perſon ſhock'd at that paſſage. I find ſeveral ſtumble at it, as taking little play-things, that children are very apt to deſire and aſk for, to be matters of fancy and affectation within your rule. But ſeeing, in your laſt letter, you confine deſires of fancy and affectation to other matters, I am ſatisfy'd in this buſineſs.

I can ſay no more to the ſcheme you lay down of *man's liberty*, but that I believe it very juſt, and will anſwer in all things. I long to ſee the ſecond edition of your *Eſſay*; and then, if any thing offer, I'll give you my thoughts more fully.

I am very ſenſible how cloſely you are engaged, 'till you have diſcharged this work off your hands; and therefore I will not venture, till it be over, to preſs you again to what you have promis'd in the buſineſs of man's life, *morality*. But you muſt expect that I ſhall never be forgetful of that from which I propoſe ſo great good to the world, and ſo much ſatisfaction to

Your moſt intirely affectionate

humble ſervant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr. MOLYNEUX *to Mr.* LOCKE.

Honour'd Sir, *Dublin, Dec.* 23. 1693.

I Have now read over your *Essay of Humane Understanding* a third time, and always make new discoveries therein of something profound. I should set upon it again, but that I'll wait for your next edition, which I hope by this time is almost finished. The usual satisfaction I take in reading all things that come from you, made me lately again run over your chapter of *identity* and *diversity*; concerning the justness whereof, I have yet the same opinion as formerly. But one thought suggested itself to me, which on my first reading did not occur. It relates to sect. 22. wherein the reason you give, why the law may justly punish a sober man for what he did when drunk, or a waking man for what he did when walking in his sleep; tho' it be true and full in the case of the nightwalker, yet I conceive it not so full in the case of the drunken man. For drunkenness is itself a crime, and therefore no one shall alledge it in excuse of another crime. And in the law we find, *that killing a man by chance-medly is not capital*; yet if I am doing an unlawful act, as shooting at a deer in

in a park to ſteal it, and by chance-medly I kill a man unawares, this is capital; becauſe the act wherein I was engaged, and which was the occaſion of this miſchief, was in it ſelf unlawful, and I cannot plead it in excuſe. In the caſe of the night-walker your anſwer is true, full, and ſatisfactory; but that in the drunkard's caſe is ſomewhat ſhort. The night-walking is a ſort of diſtemper, not to be help'd or prevented by the patient. But drunkenneſs is a deliberate act, which a man may eaſily avoid and prevent. Moreover, whatever the law appoint in this caſe, I think, were I on the jury of one who walking in his ſleep had kill'd another, I ſhould not violate a good conſcience if I acquitted him; for he is certainly, during thoſe fits, *non compos mentis*; and it were eaſie to diſtinguiſh, by circumſtances, how far he counterfeited or not.

You will very much oblige me by a line or two, to let me know how forward your work is, and what other things you have on the anvil before you; amongſt which, I hope you will not forget your *thoughts on morality*. For I am obliged to proſecute this requeſt to you, being the firſt, I preſume, that moved you in it.

There is a gentleman in this town, one Captain *Henry Monk*, a nigh relation of the *Albermarles*, who tells me he has been

known to you long ago; and on all occasions mentions you with the highest respects. He desired me t'other day to give you his most humble service. I am,

Dear Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr. LOCKE *to Mr.* MOLYNEUX.

Honoured Sir, *Oates, 19 Jan. 9¾.*

I Can take it for no other than a great mark of your kindness to me, that you spend so much of your time in the perusal of my thoughts, when you have so much better of your own to improve it. To which you add this farther obligation, that you read my book for my instruction, still taking notice to me of what you judge amiss in it. This is a good office, that so few in the world perform in the way that you do, that it deserves my particular acknowledgement. And I own my self no less beholden to you when I differ from you, than when convinced by your better judgment, you

you give me opportunity to mend what before was amiſs; your intention being that to which I equally, in both caſes, owe my gratitude.

You doubt whether my anſwer be full in the caſe of the drunkard. To try whether it be or no, we muſt conſider what I am there doing. As I remember (for I have not that chapter here by me) I am there ſhewing that puniſhment is annexed to perſonality, and perſonality to conſciouſneſs: How then can a drunkard be puniſh'd for what he did, whereof he is not conſcious? To this I anſwer, Human judicatures juſtly puniſh him, becauſe the fact is proved againſt him; but want of conſciouſneſs cannot be proved for him. This you think not ſufficient, but would have me add the common reaſon, that drunkenneſs being a crime, one crime cannot be alledged in excuſe for another. This reaſon, how good ſoever, cannot, I think, be uſed by me, as not reaching my caſe; for what has this to do with conſciouſneſs? nay, it is an argument againſt me, for if a man may be puniſh'd for any crime which he committed when drunk, whereof he is allow'd not to be conſcious, it overturns my hypotheſis. Your caſe of ſhooting a man by chance, when ſtealing a deer, being made capital, and the like, I allow to be juſt; but then, pray conſider, it con-

cerns not my argument; there being no doubt of conſciouſneſs in that caſe, but only ſhews, that any criminal action infects the conſequences of it. But drunkenneſs has ſomething peculiar in it when it deſtroys conſciouſneſs; and ſo the inſtances you bring juſtifie not the puniſhing of a drunken fact, that was totally and irrecoverably forgotten, which the reaſon that I give being ſufficient to do, it well enough removed the objection, without entring into the true foundation of the thing, and ſhewing how far it was reaſonable for humane juſtice to puniſh a crime of a drunkard, which he could be ſuppos'd not conſcious of, which would have uſeleſsly engag'd me in a very large diſcourſe, and an impertinent digreſſion. For I aſk you, if a man by intemperate drinking ſhould get a fever, and in the frenzy of his diſeaſe (which laſted not perhaps above an hour) committed ſome crime, would you puniſh him for it? If you would not think this juſt, how can you think it juſt to puniſh him for any fact committed in a drunken frenzy, without a fever? Both had the ſame criminal cauſe, *drunkenneſs*, and both committed without conſciouſneſs. I ſhall not inlarge any farther into other particular inſtances, that might raiſe difficulties about the puniſhing or not puniſhing the crime of an unconſcious drunken

man, which would not easily be resolv'd without enquiring into the reason upon which humane justice ought to proceed in such cases, which was beyond my present business to do. Thus, Sir, I have laid before you the reasons why I have let that passage go without any addition made to it. I desire you to lay by your friendship to me, and only to make use of your judgment in considering them. And if you are still of opinion that I need give the reason too, that one crime cannot be alledged in excuse of another, I beg the favour of you to let me know it as soon as I can, that I may add what is necessary in this place amongst the *errata*, before my book comes out, which advances now apace, and I believe there are, by this time, near 150 pages of it printed. And now, Sir, though I have not agreed with your opinion in this point, yet I beseech you believe I am as much obliged to your kindness in it, as if you had shew'd me what, upon your reason, had appear'd to me the grossest mistake; and I beg the favour of you, whenever you cast your eye upon any of my writings, to continue and communicate to me your remarks.

You write to me, as if ink had the same spell upon me, that mortar, as the *Italians* say, has upon others, that when I had once

got my fingers into it, I could never afterwards keep them out. I grant that methinks I ſee ſubjects enough which way ever I caſt my eyes, that deſerve to be otherwiſe handled, than I imagine they have been; but they require abler heads, and ſtronger bodies than I have, to manage them. Beſides, when I reflect on what I have done, I wonder at my own bold folly, that has ſo far expoſed me in this nice and critical, as well as quickſighted and learned age. I ſay not this to excuſe a lazy idleneſs, to which I intend to give up the reſt of my few days. I think every one, according to what way providence has placed him in, is bound to labour for the publick good, as far as he is able, or elſe he has no right to eat. Under this obligation of doing ſomething, I cannot have a ſtronger to determine me what I ſhall do, than what your deſires ſhall engage me in. I know not whether the attempt will exceed my ſtrength. But there being ſeveral here who joyn with you to preſs me to it; (I received a letter with the ſame inſtance, from two of my friends at *London*, the laſt poſt) I think, the firſt leiſure I can get to my ſelf, I ſhall apply my thoughts to it; and however I may miſs my aim, will juſtifie my ſelf in my obedience to you, and ſome others of my ingenious friends.

I am

I am exceedingly obliged to Captain *Monk* for his kind remembrance, and to you for ſending it me, and letting me know he is alive. I have, as I ought, all the eſteem for him, that you know ſo modeſt and good a man deſerves. Pray, when you ſee him, preſent my humble ſervice to him, and let him know that I am extremely glad to hear that he is well, and that he has not forgot me, and ſhould be much more ſo to ſee him here again in *England*. Pray give my humble ſervice to your brother. I am,

Dear Sir,

Your moſt humble, and

moſt faithful ſervant,

JOHN LOCKE.

Mr. MOLYNEUX *to Mr.* LOCKE.

Honoured Sir, *Dublin, Febr.* 17. 169$\frac{3}{4}$.

I am ſo very ſenſible of the great caution, and deep conſideration, you uſe before you write any thing, that I wonder at my own hardineſs when I venture to object any thing againſt your poſitions. And when I read

I read your anſwers to any of ſuch my objections, I much more admire at my own weakneſs in making them. I have a new inſtance of this in your laſt of *January* 18. which came not to this place before yeſterday. This has moſt abundantly ſatisfyed me in the doubt I lay under, concerning the caſe of a drunken man; which you have clear'd up to me in three words moſt convincingly. So that I think you have no reaſon in the leaſt to alter that paragraph, unleſs you may think it convenient to expreſs that matter a little plainer. Which I think indeed your laſt letter to me does better than your twenty ſecond ſection of that chapter. That ſection runs thus,

22. *But is not a man, drunk and ſober, the ſame perſon? why elſe is he puniſhed for the fact he commits when drunk, tho' he be never afterwards conſcious of it? Juſt as much the ſame perſon, as a man that walks, and does other things in his ſleep, is the ſame perſon, and is anſwerable for any miſchief he ſhall do in it. Humane laws puniſh both with a juſtice ſuitable to their way of knowledge; becauſe in theſe caſes they cannot diſtinguiſh certainly what is real, what counterfeit. And ſo the ignorance in drunkenneſs or ſleep is not admitted as a plea*, &c.

Now, I conceive, that which makes the expreſſion herein not ſo very clear, is, *ſuitable*

ble to their *way of knowledge.* Some will be apt to miſtake the word *their* to refer to the drunken or ſleeping man, whereas it refers to the laws, as if you had ſaid, " ſuita-
" ble to that way of knowledge or infor-
" mation which the laws have eſtabliſhed
" to proceed by.

This, in your letter, is very manifeſt in a few words. There you ſay, *Puniſhment is annexed to perſonality, perſonality to conſciouſneſs. How then can a drunkard be puniſh'd for what he did, whereof he is not conſcious? To this I anſwer, humane judicatures juſtly puniſh him, becauſe the fact is proved againſt him, but want of conſciouſneſs cannot be proved for him.* This, Sir, is moſt full in the caſe you are there treating of. So I have nothing more to offer in that matter.

Only give me leave to propoſe one queſtion more to you, tho' it be foreign to the buſineſs you are upon in your chapter *Of Identity.* How comes it to paſs that want of conſciouſneſs cannot be proved for a drunkard as well as for a frenitick? One, methinks, is as manifeſt as the other; and if drunkenneſs may be counterfeit, ſo may a frenzy. Wherefore to me it ſeems, that the law has made a difference in theſe two caſes, on this account, *viz.* " That drun-
" kenneſs is commonly incurr'd voluntari-

ly

" ly and premeditately; whereas a frenzy " is commonly without our consent, or " impossible to be prevented". But enough of this.

I should not have troubled you with this, but that according to your usual candor and goodness, you seem'd to desire my farther thoughts thereon, as speedily as I could. I am,

Most worthy Sir,

Your most obliged,

humble servant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr. LOCKE *to Mr.* MOLYNEUX.

SIR, *London*, 26. *May*. 1694.

THe slowness of the press has so long retarded my answer to your last obliging letter, that my book which is now printed and bound, and ready to be sent to you, must be an excuse for my long silence. By the obedience I have pay'd to you in the index and summaries order'd according to your desires, you will see 'tis not want of deference to you, or esteem of you, that has

has caufed this neglect. And the profit I have made, by your reflections, on feveral paffages of my book, will, I hope, encourage you to the continuance of that freedom, to a man who can diftinguifh between the cenfures of a judicious friend, and the wrangling of a peevifh critick. There is nothing more acceptable to me than the one, nor more, I think, to be flighted than the other. If therefore, as you feem to refolve, you fhall throw away any more of your time in a perufal of my *Effay*, judge, I befeech you, as feverely as you can of what you read. I know you will not forfake truth to quarrel with me; and whilft you follow her you will always oblige me, by fhewing me my miftakes, or what feems to you to be fo. You will find, in this fecond edition, that your advice at any time has not been thrown away upon me. And you will fee by the *errata*, that though your laft came a little too late, yet that could not hinder me from following what you fo kindly, and with fo much reafon, fuggefted.

I agree with you that drunkennefs being a voluntary defect, want of confciousnefs ought not to be prefum'd in favour of the drunkard. But frenzy being involuntary, and a misfortune, not a fault, has a right to that excufe, which certainly is a juft one where

where it is truly a frenzy. And all that lies upon humane juſtice is to diſtinguiſh carefully between what is real and what counterfeit in the caſe.

My book, which I deſire you to accept from me, is put into Mr. *Churchill* the bookſeller's hand, who has told me he will ſend it in a bale of books, the next week, to Mr. *Dobſon* a bookſeller in *Caſtle-ſtreet*, *Dublin*; and I have order'd him to ſend with it a copy of the additions and alterations which are printed by themſelves, and will help to make your former book uſeful to any young man, as you will ſee (is deſign'd) by the concluſion of the epiſtle to the reader. I am.

SIR,

Your moſt affectionate,

and moſt humble ſervant,

JOHN LOCKE.

Mr. MOLYNEUX *to Mr.* LOCKE.

SIR, *Dublin, June* 2. 1694.

I am highly obliged to you for the favour of your laſt, of *May* 26. which I receiv'd

ved yesterday. It brought me the welcome news of the second edition of your *Essay* being publish'd; and that you have favour'd me with a copy, which I shall expect with some impatience; and when I have perused it, I shall, with all freedom, give you my thoughts of it.

And now that you have clear'd your hands of your second edition, I hope you may have leisure to turn your thoughts to the subject I have so often proposed to you; but this, you will say, is a cruelty in me, that no sooner you are ridd of one trouble, but I set you on another. Truly, Sir, were I sensible it could be a trouble to you, I should hardly presume so far on your goodness; but I know those things are so easy and natural to your mind, that they give you no pain in the production. And I know also, such is your universal love of mankind, that you count nothing troublesome that tends to their good in a matter of so great concernment as morality.

I have formerly told you what care I proposed to take in the education of my only child. I must now beg your pardon if I trouble you in a matter, wherein I shall be at a loss without your assistance. He is now five years old, of a most towardly and promising disposition; bred exactly, as far as his age permits, to the rules you prescribe,

I mean

I mean as to forming his mind, and maſtering his paſſions. He reads very well, and I think it time nowt o put him forward to ſome other learning. In order to this I ſhall want a Tutor for him, and indeed this place can hardly afford me one to my mind. If therefore you know any ingenious man that may be proper for my purpoſe, you would highly oblige me by procuring him for me. I confeſs the encouragement I can propoſe to ſuch a one is but moderate, yet perhaps there may be ſome found that may not deſpiſe it. He ſhould eat at my own table, and have his lodging, waſhing, firing and candlelight in my houſe, in a good handſome apartment; and beſides this, I ſhould allow him 20 *l. per. an.* His work for this, ſhould be only to inſtruct three or four boys in latin, and ſuch other learning as you recommend in your book; I ſay three or four boys, becauſe perhaps I may have a relations child or two; one who is my ſiſters ſon I have always, and do intend to keep as a companion to my own ſon; and of more I am uncertain. But if there be one or two, that will be no great addition to his trouble, conſidering that perhaps their parents may recompence that by their gratuities. I mention to you, of the languages, only *latin*, but, if I could obtain it, I ſhould be glad he were alſo maſter of the

french.

french. As to his other qualifications, I ſhall only ſay in general, I could wiſh them ſuch as you would deſire in a tutor, to inſtruct a young gentleman, as you propoſe in your book. I would have him indeed a good man, and a good ſcholar; and I propoſe very much ſatisfaction to my ſelf in the converſation of ſuch a one. And becauſe a man may be cautious of leaving his native ſoil, and coming into a ſtrange country, without ſome certainty of being acceptable to thoſe that ſend for him, and of ſome continuance and ſettlement, I can ſay that I deſign him to ſtay with my ſon to his ſtate of manhood; whether he go into the univerſity, or travel, or whatever other ſtate of life he may take to. And if perhaps on tryal for ſome time, he or I may not like each other, I do promiſe to bear his charges both to and from me, ſo that he ſhall be no loſer by his journey.

I beg your anſwer to this at your leiſure; and if any ſuch preſent, be pleaſed to let me know of him what particulars you can, as his parentage, education, qualifications, diſpoſition, *&c.* with what other particulars you pleaſe to mention; and accordingly I ſhall write to you farther about it.

In the mean time, I beſeech you to pardon this trouble given you by,

Honour'd Sir,

Your moſt affectionate, and

moſt obliged humble ſervant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr. LOCKE *to Mr.* MOLYNEUX.

SIR, *London*, 28. *June*. 1694.

SInce the receipt of yours of the ſecond inſtant, I have made what enquiry I can for a tutor for your ſon; the moſt likely, and the beſt recommended that I have met with, you will have an account of from himſelf in the incloſed, to which I need add little but theſe two things; 1*ſt*, That Mr. *Fletcher*, who is a good judge, and a perſon whoſe word I can rely on, gave me a very good character of him, both as to his manners and abilities, and ſaid he would be anſwerable for him: the other is, That however it comes to paſs, the *Scotch* have now here a far greater reputation for this ſort of employment, than our own countrymen.

men. I am ſorry it is ſo, but I have of late found it in ſeveral inſtances.

I hope, by this time, the ſecond edition of my book, which I ordered for you, and a printed copy of the additions are come to your hands. I wiſh it were more anſwerable to the value you place in it, and better worth your acceptation. But, as I order the matter, methinks I make it a hard bargain to you, to pay ſo much time and pains as muſt go to the reading it over, though it were more ſlightly than we ſeem agreed, when you promiſe, and I expect your obſervations on it. There appears to me ſo little material, in the objections that I have ſeen in print againſt me, that I have paſſed them all by, but one Gentleman's, whoſe book not coming to my hand till thoſe parts of mine were printed that he queſtions, I was fain to put my anſwer in the latter end of the epiſtle.

I wiſh the endeavours I have uſed to procure you a Tutor for your ſon, may be as ſucceſsful as I deſire. 'Tis a buſineſs of great concernment to both you and your ſon; but governours that have right thoughts concerning education are hard to be found. 'Tis happy for your ſon, that a good part of it is to be under your eye. I ſhall be very glad, if in this or any other

occasion, I may be able to do you any service; for with great sincerity and respect I am,

SIR,

Your most humble servant,

J. LOCKE.

Mr. MOLYNEUX *to Mr.* LOCKE.

My most honour'd friend, *Dublin, July* 28. 1694.

FOr so you have publickly allow'd me to call * you; and 'tis a title wherein I boast more than in maces or parliament-robes. By this you may find I have received the second edition of your *Essay*, which I prize as an inestimable treasure of knowledge. 'Tis but a week since it came to me; and I have yet only look'd over those parts which are newly added, particularly that of *liberty*, the alterations wherein, I take to be most judiciously made; and now, I think that whole chapter stands so well put together, and the argumentation is so legitimate, that nothing can shake it.

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* See Mr. *Locke's Essay of H. U.* 2d. Edit. p. 68.

 I was

I was mightily pleaſed to find therein a rational account of what I have often wonder'd at, *viz. Why men ſhould content themſelves to ſtay in this life for ever, tho', at the ſame time, they will grant, that in the next life they expect to be infinitely happy?* of this you give ſo clear an account in the 44th. ſection of your xxi. chapter book II. that my wonder no longer remains. That candid receſſion from your former hypotheſis, which you ſhew in this chapter, where truth required it, raiſes in me a greater opinion (if poſſible) of your worth than ever. This is rarely to be found amongſt men, and they ſeem to have ſomething angelical, that are ſo far raiſed above the common pitch.

In time I ſhall give you my farther thoughts of the other parts of your book, where any thing occurs to me. But, at preſent, I can only pour out my thanks to you for the favourable character under which you have tranſmitted me to poſterity, *pag.* 67. My only concern is, that I can pretend to none of it, but that of your friend; and this I ſet up for in the higheſt degree. I ſhould think my ſelf happy, had I but half the title to the reſt.

I am extremely obliged to you for the trouble you took on you in my laſt requeſt, about a tutor for my ſon. I received your

letter with Mr. *Gibbs*'s inclofed; to which I returned an anfwer, addrefs'd to himfelf. The import whereof was, " That I had " fome offers made to me in this place, re- " lating to that matter, to which I thought I " fhould hearken, at leaft, fo far as to " make fome tryal. That I was loath to " divert him from his good intentions to " the miniftry, and therefore I could not " encourage him to undertake fo long a " journey, on fuch uncertainties on both " fides, *&c.* I am,

My moft highly efteem'd friend,

your moft affectionate,

humble fervant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr. LOCKE *to Mr.* MOLYNEUX.

SIR, *Oates, 3 Sept. 1694.*

I Have fo much the advantage in the bargain, if friendfhip may be call'd one, that whatfoever fatisfaction you find in your felf on that account, you muft allow in me, with a large over-plus. The only riches I have valued, or labour'd to acquire, has

been the friendſhip of ingenious and worthy men, and therefore you cannot blame me if I ſo forwardly laid hold of the firſt occaſion that open'd me a way to yours. That I have ſo well ſucceeded in it, I count one of my greateſt happineſſes, and a ſufficient reward for writing my book, had I no other benefit by it. The opinion you have of it, gives me farther hopes, for it is no ſmall reward to one who loves truth to be perſuaded that he has made ſome diſcoveries of it, and any ways help'd to propagate it to others. I depend ſo much upon your judgment and candor, that I think my ſelf ſecure in you from peeviſh criticiſm or flattery; only give me leave to ſuſpect, that kindneſs and friendſhip do ſometimes carry your expreſſions a little too far on the favourable ſide. This, however, makes me not apprehend you will ſilently paſs by any thing you are not throughly ſatisfied of in it. The uſe I have made of the advertiſements I have received from you of this kind, will ſatisfie you that I deſire this office of friendſhip from you, not out of complement, but for the uſe of truth, and that your animadverſions will not be loſt upon me. Any faults you ſhall meet with in reaſoning, in perſpicuity, in expreſſion, or of the preſs, I deſire you to take notice of, and ſend me word of. Eſpecially if you have any where

any doubt; for I am perſuaded, that, upon debate, you and I cannot be of two opinions; nor, I think, any two men uſed to think with freedom, who really prefer truth to opiniatrity, and a little fooliſh vain glory, of not having made a miſtake.

I ſhall not need to juſtifie what I have ſaid of you in my book: The learned world will be vouchers for me; and that in an age not very free from envy and cenſure. But you are very kind to me, ſince for my ſake you allow your ſelf to own that part which I am more particularly concern'd in, and permit me to call you *my friend*, whilſt your modeſty checks at the other part of your character. But aſſure your ſelf, I am as well perſuaded of the truth of it, as of any thing elſe in my book, it had not elſe been put down in it. It only wants a great deal more I had to ſay, had that been a place to draw your picture at large. Herein I pretend not to any peculiar obligation above others that know you. For though perhaps I may love you better than many others, yet, I conclude, I cannot think better of you than others do.

I am very glad you were provided of a tutor nearer home, and it had this particular good luck in it, that otherwiſe you had been diſappointed if you had depended on Mr. *Gibbe*; as a letter I writ to you

from

from *London* about it, I hope acquainted you. I am,

Dear Sir,

Your most affectionate, and most humble servant,

JOHN LOCKE.

Mr. LOCKE *to Mr.* MOLYNEUX.

SIR, *Oates, 23. Nov. 1694.*

YOu speak of my book, in such terms, that had I not convincing arguments that you are not a man of complements, I should a little suspect your civility border'd very much on them in this case. But there are so few of them to be found, that you think you cannot speak too highly of the endeavours of one who pursues truth unbyassedly, and chooses not his opinions first, and then seeks arguments to support them. Upon that account I admit of whatever you please to say; but withal give me leave to assure you, that in the performance it self, I see nothing but what any one might have done, who would have sat down to it with the same love of truth, and indifferency, that I did. However, I cannot but be pleased that you think so well of it: For whether your

your friendſhip to me bribes your judgment, or whether your good opinion of my *Eſſay* adds to your kind thoughts of the author; I find my account both ways, and ſhould think my ſelf well rewarded for my pains in this ſingle purchaſe. But, Sir, will you not pardon ſo lawful a deſire, in one that loves you, if I aſk, Shall I never have the happineſs to ſee you in *England?*

Mr. *Churchill*, my bookſeller, ſends me word by the laſt poſt, that he has ſent you the ſix copies that you ſent for, and advice of it. I ſent to him a project of a new reduction of the year by Dr. *Wood*, to be ſent with the copy of my *Eſſay* to you. The author gave me it himſelf, and I thought it might poſſibly pleaſe you, if you had not ſeen it before. This, with the ſupernumerary cuts, I order'd him to ſend you, will with the books, I hope, come ſafe to your hands. The mentioning of thoſe cuts puts me in mind again of your civility, which I ſee ſtudies all manner of ways of expreſſing it ſelf.

You ſee, by this liberty I take with you, that I am paſt terms of complement with you, that is, I uſe you as one I look on to be my friend, with a freedom of good offices, either to receive or do them, as it happens. Look upon me as ſuch, I beſeech you,

you, and believe that I am, with the utmoſt ſincerity,

SIR,

Your moſt affectionate friend,
and moſt humble ſervant,

JOHN LOCKE.

Mr. MOLYNEUX *to Mr.* LOCKE.

SIR, *Dublin, December* 18. 1694.

YOurs of *November* 23. found me labouring under a ſharp fever, which has held me this month paſt; but I am now, God be thanked, pretty well recover'd. I am obliged to you for the earneſt deſire you expreſs of ſeeing me in *England.* But as to that particular, the truth is thus; Laſt ſummer I deſigned to make a journey, on purpoſe to pay my reſpects to you, and for no other errand; but my reſolutions were not ſo fix'd, as to give you any intimations thereof. For indeed, the ſtate of my health was ſo very uncertain, that I was very miſtruſtful whether I ſhould be able to undertake the journey. However, I thought to make an eſſay of my ſtrength in our own country; ſo that ſome buſineſs calling me about three ſcore miles from this city, the fatigue

fatigue was ſo troubleſome to me, that I was quite diſcouraged from thinking of *England* that ſeaſon. I have now had another pull-back, by my preſent ſickneſs, ſo that I cannot yet well tell how to think of the other ſide of the water. This only I will aſſure you, that the firſt entire health God is pleaſed to beſtow on me, ſhall be employ'd in a journey towards you; there being nothing, I ſo earneſtly covet, as the perſonal acquaintance of one for whom I have ſo great a reſpect and veneration, and to whom I am ſo highly obliged for many favours.

There is a very worthy perſon, Dr. *St. George Aſhe*, Provoſt of the college here, lately gone from hence to *London*; he is a great admirer, and zealous promoter of your writings in his college. He deſired from me a letter of recommendation to you, but I fear your being in the country will hinder his deſigned happineſs in your converſation. He ſtays in *London* theſe three or four months to come, in which time, if your buſineſs call you to the city, you will hear of him either at your lodging at Mr. *Pawlings*, (where perhaps he will leave the place of his reſidence) or at Mr. *Tuckers*, in the ſecretary's office at *Whitehall*, where a penny-poſt letter will find him out.

I thank

I thank you for the care you have taken to ſend me the books and ſculptures, which I hope to receive in good time, having advice thereof already from Mr. *Churchill*. I am,

Worthy Sir,

Your moſt affectionate,

humble ſervant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr. MOLYNEUX *to Mr.* LOCKE.

Honoured Sir, *Dublin, January* 15. 169⅔.

I Have received the ſix copies of your book, and thank you for the care you have taken about them. I acknowledge myſelf likewiſe obliged to you for your preſent of Dr. *Wood*'s almanack, tho' it was not new to me, having received the favour of one from the author himſelf, when accomptant general here in *Ireland*, many years ago. 'Tis a very pretty project, but, I believe, 'twill hardly ever be practiſed; becauſe men think what they have already ſufficiently accurate for the common uſes of life, and are hardly brought from what they have uſed, ſo long as they have done the common *Julian* account, unleſs prevail'd upon by ſome ſuch potent

potent authority as the *church*, which abrogated the *Julian*, and eſtabliſh'd the *Gregorian* kalendar.

The ſculptures alſo I received, and thank you for them. I ſhall do them all the honour that outward ornament can give them. And I heartily wiſh I had more effectual ways of ſhewing my reſpects, which I think I can never do ſufficiently.

I have ever thought that an elegant tranſlation of your *Eſſay* into latin, would be highly acceptable to foreigners, and of great uſe in thoſe countrys whoſe minds lie yet captivated in *verboſe*, diſputative philoſophy, and falſe reaſoning; I therefore preſume to mention it to you, that tho' your own leiſure may not permit you to perform it your ſelf, you may think of putting ſome one on it, that under your eye may do it correctly. And were I not perſuaded that your own eye and correction were abſolutely requiſite herein, I would venture to make a bold propoſal to have it done by ſome one in this place, whom I ſhould reward for his labour herein. And this I do, not that I think you may not with a great deal of eaſe employ one your ſelf in this matter, but meerly that herein I may have an opportunity of doing ſo much good in the world. You ſee, Sir, what a veneration I have for your writings, and therefore you will pardon me

if

if I desire from you *sub amicitiæ tesserâ*, the names of what books you have publish'd. I remember, once I proposed to you the like request, and you were silent to it. If it were, that you designedly conceal them, I acquiesce; but perhaps it proceeded from your cursory passing over that part of my letter, which makes me venture again on the same request. And now that your thoughts are at liberty from your *Essay*, you will give me leave, with all submission, to mind you of what you once told me you would think off, *viz.* of demonstrating *morals*. I am sure, as no hand could perform it better, so no age ever requir'd it more than ours.

I do heartily wish you an happy succeeding year; and may it end with us happier than the last past. I am,

Dear Sir,

Your most obliged,

humble servant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr.

Mr. Locke *to Mr.* Molyneux.

Dear Sir, *Oates, 8 Mar. 1694.*

YOu will, I fear, think me frozen up with this long winter, or else with a negligence colder than that, having two very obliging letters of yours by me, the one ever since *January*, the other *February* last, I make you no answer to either, till thus far in *March*. The truth is, expecting ever since I received your last letter an account from *London*, concerning something I had a mind to put into my letter, and after writing four times about it, being yet delay'd, I can forbear no longer to return you my thanks, and to beg your pardon that I have been so slow in it. If you interpret it right, you will look upon it as the effect of a friendship got past formalities, and that has confidence enough to make bold with you, where it is without neglect of you, or prejudice to either. I was not a little rejoyced with the news you sent me in the first of your letters, of your safe recovery of a fever. Had I known it before the danger was over, that you had been ill, it would have been no small fright and pain to me. For I must assure you, that amongst all the friends your kindness or worth has procured you, there is not any one

one who values you more than I do, or does more intereſt himſelf in all your concerns. This makes me, that tho' I have a long time extremely deſired to ſee you, and propoſe to my ſelf an infinite ſatisfaction in a free converſation with you; yet what you tell me, that you were coming laſt ſummer into *England*, to make me a viſit, makes me dread the ſatisfaction of my own wiſhes. And methinks I ought not to purchaſe one of the greateſt happineſſes I can propoſe to my ſelf at ſo dear and dangerous a rate. I have received many and great obligations from you before, but they were ſuch, as though I had no title to, I thought I might accept from one whom I love, and therefore was glad to find kind to me. But when I reflect on the length of the way, and the ſea between us, the danger of the one, and the fatigue of both, and your no very robuſt conſtitution, as I imagine, I cannot conſent you ſhould venture ſo much for my ſake. If any harm ſhould happen to you in the journey, I could never forgive it my ſelf to be the occaſion of ſo great a loſs to the world and my ſelf. And if you ſhould come ſafe, the greatneſs of the hazard, and an obligation out of all proportion, to what I either ought to receive, or was capable to return, would overwhelm me with ſhame, and hinder my enjoyment.

And yet, if I may confeſs my ſecret thoughts, there is not any thing which I would not give, that ſome other unavoidable occaſion would draw you into *England*. A rational free-minded man, tyed to nothing but truth, is ſo rare a thing, that I almoſt worſhip ſuch a friend; but when friendſhip is joyn'd to it, and theſe are brought into a free converſation, where they meet, and can be together, what is there can have equal charms? I cannot but exceedingly wiſh for that happy day, when I may ſee a man I have ſo often longed to have in my embraces. But yet, though it would endear the gift to receive it from his kindneſs, I cannot but wiſh rather that fortune alone would throw him into my arms.

This cold winter has kept me ſo cloſe a priſoner within doors, that, 'till yeſterday, I have been abroad but once theſe three months, and that only a mile in a coach. And the inability I am in to breath *London* air in cold weather, has hinder'd me yet from the happineſs of waiting on Dr. *Aſhe*; but I hope to get to *London* before he leaves it, that I may, to a perſon whom you have an eſteem for, pay ſome part of the reſpects I owe you. I had laſt week the honour of a viſit from an ingenious gentleman, a member of your college at *Dublin*, lately returned from *Turkey*. He told me he was a

kinſman

kinſman of yours; and though his other good qualities might have made him welcome any where, he was not, you may be ſure, the leſs welcome to me, for being known and related to you. He ſeems to me to have been very diligent and curious in making obſervations whilſt he has been abroad, and more inquiſitive than moſt of our people that go into thoſe parts. And by the diſcourſe I had with him, the little time we were together, I promiſe my ſelf we ſhall have a more exact account of thoſe parts, in what I hope he intends to publiſh, than hitherto is extant. Dr. *Huntington*, who was formerly at *Aleppo*, and is my old acquaintance, and now my neighbour in this country, brought Mr. *Smith* hither with him from his houſe. But yet I muſt acknowledge the favour to you, and deſire you to thank him for it when he returns to *Dublin*. For the friendſhip he knew you had for me, was, I take it, the great inducement that made him give himſelf the trouble of coming ſix or ſeven miles in a dirty country.

You do ſo attack me on every ſide with your kindneſs to my book, to me, to my ſhadow, that I cannot but be aſham'd I am not in a capacity to make you any other acknowledgement, but in a very full and deep ſenſe of it. I return you my thanks for

the corrections you have ſent me, which I will take all the care of I can in the next edition, which, my bookſeller tells me, he thinks will be this ſummer. And if any other fall under your obſervation, I ſhall deſire the continuance of your favour in communicating them.

I muſt own to you, that I have been ſolicited from beyond ſea to put my *Eſſay* into latin, but you gueſs right, I have not the leiſure to do it. It was once tranſlated by a young man in *Holland*, into latin, but he was ſo little maſter of the engliſh or latin tongue, that when it was ſhew'd me, which he did not till he had quite done it, I ſatisfyed him that it would be very little for his credit to publiſh it, and ſo that was laid by. Since that, my bookſeller was, and had been for ſome time, ſeeking for a tranſlator, whom he would have treated with to have undertaken it, and have ſatisfyed for his pains. But a little before the coming of your letter, he writ me word he had been diſappointed where he expected to have found one who would have done it, and was now at a loſs. So that what you call a bold, is not only the kindeſt, but the moſt ſeaſonable propoſal you could have made. You underſtand my thoughts as well as I do my ſelf, and can be a fit judge whether the tranſlator has expreſſed them

well

well in latin or no, and can direct him where to omit or contract any thing where you think I have been more large than needed. And though in this I know you intend, as you ſay, ſome good to the world, yet I cannot but take it as a very particular obligation to my ſelf, and ſhall not be a little ſatisfyed to have my book go abroad into the world with ſtroaks of your judicious hand to it. For, as to omitting, adding, altering, tranſpoſing any thing in it, I permit it wholly to your judgment. And if there be any thing in it defective, or which you think may be added with advantage to the deſign of the whole work, if you will let me know, I ſhall endeavour to ſupply that defect the beſt I can. The chapter of *Identity and Diverſity*, which owes its birth wholly to your putting me upon it, will be an encouragement to you to lay any the like commands upon me. I have had ſome thoughts my ſelf, that it would not be poſſibly amiſs to add, in *lib.* iv. *ch.* 18, ſomething about *Enthuſiaſm*, or to make a chapter of it by it ſelf. If you are of the ſame mind, and that it will not be foreign to the buſineſs of my *Eſſay*, I promiſe you, before the tranſlator you ſhall employ, ſhall be got ſo far, I will ſend you my thoughts on that ſubject, ſo that it may be put into the latin edition. I have alſo examined

P. Malbranche's opinion concerning *ſeeing all things in God*, and to my own ſatisfaction laid open the vanity, and inconſiſtency, and unintelligibleneſs of that way of explaining humane underſtanding. I have gone almoſt, but not quite, through it, and know not whether I now ever ſhall finiſh it, being fully ſatisfyed my ſelf about it. You cannot think how often I regret the diſtance that is between us; I envy *Dublin* for what I every day want in *London*. Were you in my neighbourhood, you would every day be troubled with the propoſal of ſome of my thoughts to you. I find mine generally ſo much out of the way of the books I meet with, or men led by books, that were I not conſcious to my ſelf that I impartially ſeek truth, I ſhould be diſcouraged from letting my thoughts looſe, which commonly lead me out of the beaten track. However, I want ſome body near me, to whom I could freely communicate them, and, without reſerve, lay them open. I ſhould find ſecurity and eaſe in ſuch a friend as you, were you within diſtance. For your judgment would confirm and ſet me at reſt, were it approved, and your candor would excuſe what your judgment corrected, and ſet me right in. As to your requeſt you now repeat to me, I deſire you to believe that there is nothing in your letters

ters which I paſs over ſlightly, or without taking notice of; and if I formerly ſaid nothing to it, think it to be, that I thought it the beſt way of anſwering a friend, whom I was reſolv'd to deny nothing that was in my power. There are ſome particular obligations that tye me up in the point, and which have drawn on me ſome diſpleaſure for a time, from ſome of my friends, who made me a ſomewhat like demand. But I expect to find you more reaſonable, and give you this aſſurance, that you ſhall be the firſt that ſhall be ſatisfyed in that point. I am not forgetful of what you ſo kindly put me upon. I think no body ought to live only to eat and drink, and count the days he ſpends idly. The ſmall remainder of a crazy life, I ſhall, as much as my health will permit, apply to the ſearch of truth, and ſhall not neglect to propoſe to my ſelf thoſe that may be moſt uſeful. My paper is more than done, and, I ſuppoſe, you tyred, and yet I can ſcarce give off. I am,

Dear Sir,

Your moſt faithful,

humble ſervant,

JOHN LOCKE.

Mr. Molyneux *to Mr.* Locke.

SIR, *Dublin, March* 26. 1695.

THe concern you expreſs for my welfare is extremely obliging, and I never priſed my health ſo much, as ſince thereby I am enabled to enjoy your correſpondence and friendſhip. But whatever becomes of me and my carcaſs, I can heartily wiſh you had one more eaſy, healthful, and ſtrong. For I know mankind in general intereſted in you; whereas I am ſure to fall unlamented to all, ſave a few particular friends.

I underſtand my kinſman has enjoy'd that which I have earneſtly long'd for. He tells me, by letter, the great obligations he bears you, for the civilities you ſhew'd him, and deſires me to acknowledge them.

I am very glad to find your *Eſſay* like to ſuffer a third impreſſion; 'tis a good ſign, and ſhews the world not ſo averſe to truth, when fairly laid open. To have truth prevail, the only way is calmly and meekly to publiſh it, and let it ſhift for it ſelf; *magna res eſt veritas & prævalebit:* 'Twill make its own party good without fire and faggot, which never promoted, but, I am ſure, has often ſtifled it.

 This

This encourages me, with more vigour, to promote the tranſlation of your work, and to own my ſelf infinitely obliged to you, that you are pleaſed ſo readily to comply with the offer I made you in my laſt. Yeſterday I ſent for an ingenious young man of the college here, to diſcourſe with him about it. The reſult was, he would make an eſſay, and ſhew it me, and accordingly would proceed or deſiſt. But then, he tells me that he cannot ſet himſelf fully to it till towards the latter end of *May*; for he deſigns to ſtand candidate for a fellowſhip in the college, which, by the removal of the Provoſt, is to be diſpoſed of about next *Trinity-Sunday*; and, in the mean time, he is to prepare himſelf for the examination they undergo on that occaſion. I ſhall ſee his firſt attempt the next week, and ſhall give you an account. As to any alterations to be made by me, I ſhould be very cautious of medling therein; I know the whole work has already undergone ſo exact a judgment, there is no room left for amendments. However, if any ſuch offer, after your approbation of them, I ſhould venture to inſert them.

I muſt freely confeſs, that if my notion of *Enthuſiaſm* agrees with yours, there is no neceſſity of adding any thing concerning it, more than by the by, and in a ſingle ſection

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in *chap.* 18. *lib.* iv. I conceive it to be no other than a religious ſort of madneſs, and compriſes not in it any mode of thinking or operation of the mind, different from what you have treated of in your *Eſſay*. 'Tis true indeed, the abſurdities men embrace, on account of religion, are moſt aſtoniſhing; and if in a chapter of *Enthuſiaſm* you endeavour to give an account of them, 'twould be very acceptable. So that (on ſecond thoughts) I do very well approve of what you propoſe therein, being very deſirous of having your ſentiments on any ſubject.

Pere Malbranche's chapter of *ſeeing all things in God*, was ever to me abſolutely unintelligible; and unleſs you think a polemick diſcourſe in your *Eſſay* (which you have hitherto avoided therein) may not be of a piece with the reſt, I am ſure it highly deſerves to be expoſed, and is very agreeable to the buſineſs of your work. I would therefore humbly propoſe it to you, to conſider of doing ſomething therein. *Pere Malbranche* has many curious notions, and ſome as erroneous and abſurd. 'Tis a good while ſince I read him, but I am now turning him over a ſecond time; he is moſtly Platonick, and, in ſome things, almoſt enthuſiaſtical. I am, Honour'd dear Sir,

Your moſt obliged humble ſervant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr,

Mr. Locke *to Mr.* Molyneux.

SIR, *Oates, April 26. 1695.*

YOu look with the eyes, and ſpeak the language of friendſhip, when you make my life of ſo much more concern to the world, than your own. I take it, as it is, for an effect of your kindneſs, and ſo ſhall not accuſe you of complement; the miſtakes and over-valuings of good will being always ſincere, even when they exceed what common truth allows. This on my ſide, I muſt beg you to believe, that my life would be much more pleaſant and uſeful to me, if you were within my reach, that I might ſometimes enjoy your converſation, and, upon twenty occaſions, lay my thoughts before you, and have the advantage of your judgment. I cannot complain that I have not my ſhare of friends of all ranks, and ſuch, whoſe intereſt, aſſiſtance, affection, and opinions too, in fit caſes, I can rely on. But methinks, for all this, there is one place vacant, that I know no body that would ſo well fill as your ſelf. I want one near me to talk freely with, *de quolibet ente*; to propoſe to, the extravagancies that riſe in my mind; one with whom I would debate ſeveral doubts and queſtions, to ſee what was in them. Meditating

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by ones ſelf is like digging in the mine; it often, perhaps, brings up maiden earth, which never came near the light before; but whether it contain any mettle in it, is never ſo well tryed as in converſation with a knowing judicious friend, who carries about him the true touch-ſtone, which is love of truth in a clear-thinking head. Men of parts and judgment the world uſually gets hold of, and by a great miſtake (that their abilities of mind are loſt, if not employ'd in the purſuit of wealth or power) engages them in the ways of fortune and intereſt, which uſually leave but little freedom or leiſure of thought for pure diſintereſted truth. And ſuch who give themſelves up frankly, and in earneſt, to the full latitude of real knowledge, are not every where to be met with. Wonder not, therefore, that I wiſh ſo much for you in my neighbourhood; I ſhould be too happy in a friend of your make, were you within my reach. But yet, I cannot but wiſh that ſome buſineſs would once bring you within diſtance, and 'tis a pain to me to think of leaving the world, without the happineſs of ſeeing you.

I do not wonder that a kinſman of yours ſhould magnifie civilities that ſcarce deſerve that name; I know not wherein they conſiſted, but in being glad to ſee one that was

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any way related to you, and was himſelf a very ingenious man; either of thoſe was a title to more than I did, or could ſhew him. I am ſorry I have not yet had an opportunity to wait on him in *London*, and I fear he ſhould be gone before I am able to get thither. This long winter, and cold ſpring, has hung very heavy upon my lungs, and they are not yet in a caſe to be ventur'd in *London* air, which muſt be my excuſe for not waiting upon him and Dr. *Aſhe* yet.

The third edition of my *Eſſay* is already, or will be ſpeedily in the preſs. But what perhaps will ſeem ſtranger, and poſſibly pleaſe you better, an abridgment is now making (if it be not already done) by one of the univerſity of *Oxford*, for the uſe of young ſcholars, in the place of an ordinary ſyſtem of logick. From the acquaintance I had of the temper of that place, I did not expect to have it get much footing there. But ſo it is, I ſome time ſince received a very civil letter from one wholly a ſtranger to me there, concerning ſuch a deſign, and, by another from him ſince, I conclude it near done. He ſeems to be an ingenious man, and he writes ſenſibly about it; but I can ſay nothing of it till I ſee it, which he, of his own accord, has offer'd that I ſhall, wholly ſubmitted to my opinion, and diſpoſal of it. And thus, Sir, poſſibly that

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which you once propoſed may be attained too, and I was pleaſed with the gentleman's deſign for your ſake.

You are a ſtrange man, you oblige me very much by the care you take to have it well tranſlated, and you thank me for complying with your offer. In my laſt, as I remember, I told you the reaſon why it was ſo long before I writ, was an expectation of an anſwer from *London*, concerning ſomething I had to communicate to you: It was in ſhort this, I was willing to know what my bookſeller would give for a good latin copy; he told me, at laſt, twenty pounds. His delay was, becauſe he would firſt have known what the tranſlator demanded. But I forced him to make his propoſal, and ſo I ſend it you, to make what uſe of it you pleaſe. He ſince writ me word, that a friend of his at *Oxford* would, in ſome time, be at leiſure to do it, and would undertake it. I bid him excuſe himſelf to him, for that it was in hands I approv'd of, and ſome part of it now actually done. For I hope the *Eſſay* (he was to ſhew you the next week after you writ to me laſt) pleaſed you. Think it not a complement, that I deſire you to make what alterations you think fit. One thing particularly you will oblige me and the world in, and that is, in paring off ſome of the

ſuperfluous

ſuperfluous repetitions, which I left in for the ſake of illiterate men, and the ſofter ſex, not uſed to abſtract notions and reaſonings. But much of this reaſoning will be out of doors in a latin tranſlation. I refer all to your judgment, and ſo am ſecure it will be done as is beſt.

What I ſhall add concerning *Enthuſiaſm*, I gueſs, will very much agree with your thoughts, ſince yours jump ſo right with mine, about the place where it is to come in, I having deſigned it for *chap.* 18. *lib.* iv. as a falſe principle of reaſoning often made uſe of. But, to give an hiſtorical account of the various ravings men have embraced for religion, would, I fear, be beſides my purpoſe, and be enough to make an huge volume.

My opinion of *P. Malbranche* agrees perfectly with yours. What I have writ concerning *ſeeing all things in God*, would make a little treatiſe of it ſelf. But I have not quite gone through it, for fear I ſhould by ſomebody or other be tempted to print it. For I love not controverſies, and have a perſonal kindneſs for the author. When I have the happineſs to ſee you, we will conſider it together, and you ſhall diſpoſe of it.

I think I ſhall make ſome other additions to be put into your latin tranſlation, and particularly

particularly concerning the *Connexion of Ideas*, which has not, that I know, been hitherto consider'd, and has, I guess, a greater influence upon our minds, than is usually taken notice of. Thus, you see, I make you the confident of my reveries; you would be troubled with a great many more of them, were you nearer. I am,

Honour'd Sir,

Your most affectionate,

humble servant,

JOHN LOCKE.

Mr. MOLYNEUX *to Mr.* LOCKE.

SIR, *Dublin, May* 7. 1695.

I am extremely pleased to understand by yours of *April.* 26. that we are to expect an abridgment of your work from a judicious hand in *Oxford*; 'tis what I always thought might be of good use in the universities, where we yet want another sort of language, than what has hitherto prevail'd there, to the great hindrance of science.

As to the translation that is going on here, 'tis undertaken by one Mr. *William Mullart*,

Mullart, a *ſenior* batchelor in the college. He has the repute of an ingenious and learned young man, and I hope he may perform it well. I here incloſe a ſpecimen of his performance, concerning which, I deſire you would give me your thoughts, before he proceed much farther. This only may be hinted, that when he is better acquainted with the work, and your language, and has enter'd farther into it, 'tis probable his tranſlation may be better, more eaſie and natural. He propoſes to finiſh it in half a year, or nine months at fartheſt; for he cannot wholly diſengage himſelf from ſome other ſtudies. I perceive your bookſeller is reſolved to ſhare with me in the good I thought to do the world, by beſtowing on it this tranſlation. And ſince he is ſo generous as to have it ſo, I will, by no means, be the tranſlator's hindrance in partaking of the bookſeller's profer; and, at the ſame time, to engage his diligence the more, I will increaſe the reward conſiderably, that I may not wholly miſs of the good deſign I firſt propoſed to my ſelf. If you encourage the tranſlator to go forward, you may be pleaſed to tranſmit to me the additions you deſign; as that of *Enthuſiaſm*, *Connexion of Ideas*, and what elſe you have.

And now, with redoubled force, I ſend back to you the complaints you make for

our diſtance. I cannot but hope, that providence has yet in ſtore for me ſo much happineſs on this ſide the grave, and if it have not, I ſhall think I have miſſed the greateſt temporal good my mind was ever ſet on. But I ſtill ſay, I live in hopes, the accompliſhment whereof would be the greateſt ſatisfaction to

Your moſt cordially affectionate humble ſervant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Were it not too nigh approaching to vanity, I could tell you of extraordinary effects your method of *Education* has had on my little boy.

Mr. LOCKE *to Mr.* MOLYNEUX.

Dear Sir, *Oates, 2 July. 1695.*

DId I not aſſure my ſelf that our friendſhip were grown beyond ſuſpition or complement, I ſhould think I ſhould have need to make excuſes to you for my long ſilence; but I know you will credit me, when I tell you it has been neither forgetfulneſs nor negligence. The ſpecimen of the

the tranſlation you ſent me, gave me ſome reaſon to apprehend, that Mr. *Mullart*'s ſtile would lay too great a burthen on your kindneſs, by often needing the correction of your hand, to make it expreſs my ſenſe with that clearneſs and eaſyneſs which I know you deſire. My bookſeller therefore having before told me of one who had offer'd to undertake the tranſlation of my *Eſſay*, I have been ever ſince endeavouring to get from him a ſpecimen, that I might ſend it you, and have your opinion, which is like to do beſt; that ſo if this man had a talent that way, you might be eaſed of the trouble, which your friendſhip to me, and zeal to the work, I foreſee, is likely to lay upon you. But, having the laſt poſt received this account from Mr. *Churchill*, that the gentleman propoſed is in the country, and muſt have a book ſent him down, on purpoſe, before we can expect to ſee any thing from him, and this being all to be managed by a third hand, who is not every day to be met with, I have reſolved to loſe no more time on that thought, but accepting of your kind offer, put that whole matter into your hands, to be ordered as you ſhall think beſt, and ſhall ſpend no more time in other enquiries, ſince the gentleman you propoſe will (as I remember you told me) be about this time at leiſure to ſet himſelf

in earneſt to it. There is one thing I would offer, which may be of advantage to him and the work too, and that is, that he would conſtantly and ſedulouſly read *Tully*, eſpecially his philoſophical works, which will inſenſibly work him into a good latin ſtile. I have heard it reported of Bp. *Sanderſon*, that being aſked how he came to write latin ſo well, as appears in the treatiſes he publiſhed in that tongue; he anſwer'd, *by ordering his ſtudies ſo, that he read over all* Tully's *works every year.* I leave it to you, whether you will think fit to mention this to Mr. *Mullart.*

The abridgment of my *Eſſay* is quite finiſh'd. It is done by a very ingenious man of *Oxford*, a maſter of arts, very conſiderable for his learning and virtue, who has a great many pupils. It is done with the ſame deſign you had in view, when you mention'd it. He has generally (as far as I could remember) made uſe of my words; he very civilly ſent it me when it was done, and, upon looking it over, I gueſs you will approve of it, and think it well done. It is in Mr. *Churchill*'s hands, and will be printed as ſoon as the third edition of my *Eſſay*, which is now in the preſs, is printed off.

I am extremely glad to hear that you have found any good effects of my method on your ſon. I ſhould be glad to know

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the particulars; for though I have ſeen the ſucceſs of it in a child of the lady, in whoſe houſe I am, (whoſe mother has taught him latin without knowing it herſelf when ſhe began) yet I would be glad to have other inſtances; becauſe ſome men, who cannot endure any thing ſhould be mended in the world by a new method, object, I hear, that my way of education is unpracticable. But this I can aſſure you, that the child above mentioned, but nine years old in *June* laſt, has learn'd to read and write very well; is now reading *Quintus Curtius* with his mother, underſtands geography and chronology very well, and the Copernican ſyſtem of our vortex; is able to multiply well, and divide a little; and all this without ever having had one blow for his book. The third edition is now out, I have ordered Mr. *Churchill* to ſend you one of them, which I hope he has done before this. I expect your opinion of the additions, which have much encreaſed the bulk of the book. And though I think all that I have ſaid right, yet you are the man I depend on, for a fair and free cenſure, not inclined either to flatter, or quarrel. You know not of what value a knowing man, that is a ſincere lover of truth, is, nor how hard to be found; wonder not, therefore, if I place a great part of my happineſs in your friendſhip,

and wiſh every day you were my neighbour; you would then find what uſe I ſhould make of it. But, not to complain of what cannot be remedied, pray let me have all the advantage I can at this diſtance. Read the additions, and examine them ſtrictly, for I would not willingly miſlead the world. Pray let me know whether the Dr. your brother, has any children; when he has, I count I owe him one of my books of *Education.*

With my treatiſe of *Education*, I believe you will receive another little one concerning *Intereſt* and *Coinage*. It is one of the fatherleſs children, which the world lay at my door; but, whoever be the author, I ſhall be glad to know your opinion of it.

And now I muſt mightily bemoan the loſs of an happineſs which you deſigned me, and I through great misfortune miſſed. The impreſſions of the laſt ſevere winter on my weak lungs, and the ſlow return of warm weather this ſpring, confined me ſo long to the country, that I concluded Dr. *Aſhe* would be gone before I ſhould get to town, and I ſhould loſe the honour of ſo deſired an acquaintance. However, as ſoon as I was got to *London*, I enquir'd of Mr. *Churchill*, who told me Dr. *Aſhe* was lately in town; and he promiſed me, as I deſired him,

him, that he would enquire whether he was ſtill there, and where he lodged. He return'd me no anſwer, and I (through a multitude of buſineſs) forgot to enquire again, for ſome few days. Upon the firſt thought of it again, I went to the ſecretary's office at *Whitehall*, and not finding Mr. *Tucker* there, I went to his houſe, who told me that Dr. *Aſhe* was that very morning gone out of town. The miſſing of him thus unluckily, when he had been within my reach, very much vexed me, and it looked as if fortune had had a mind ſenſibly to croſs me, in what ſhe knew I was extremely deſirous of. I enquired too for Mr. *Smith*, but he, I heard, was gone to *Flanders* before I came to town. It would have been more than ordinary ſatisfaction to me, to have convers'd and made an acquaintance with ſo eſteem'd a friend of yours as Dr. *Aſhe*. I ſhall not be at quiet, till ſome buſineſs brings you into *England* to repair this loſs, and brings me a ſatisfaction to the moſt earneſt of all my deſires. My decaying health does not promiſe me any long ſtay in this world, you are the only perſon in it, that I deſire to ſee once, and to converſe ſome time with, before I leave it. I wiſh your other occaſions might draw you into *England*, and then let me alone to huſband our time together; I

have laid all that in my head already. But I talk my desires and fancies as if they were in view. I wish you all manner of happiness, and am,

Dear Sir,

Your most affectionate, and

most faithful servant,

J. LOCKE.

Pray present my humble service to Dr. *Ashe*, and excuse my misfortunate loss to him.

When you consider the length of this, you will find my late silence was not from a sparingness of speech, or backwardness to talk with you; I have more reason now to beg your pardon for my talkativeness than silence.

The additions I intend to make, shall be sent time enough for the translator.

Mr. MOLYNEUX *to Mr.* LOCKE.

SIR, *Dublin, August* 24. 1695.

I Defer'd my answer all this while to yours of *July* 2. (which I received some weeks ago) in expectation of the books you have

have been pleaſed to order for me; but hitherto they are not arrived, and I would not omit my duty any longer, leaſt the buſineſs of our enſuing parliament ſhould give me a farther hindrance. The univerſity has done me the honour to chooſe me as one of their repreſentatives; and tho' I cannot pretend to do them any great ſervice, yet it ſhall not be for want of conſtant attendance on their buſineſs, which will take up moſt of my time, till the ſeſſion is ended.

I am now at a great loſs what apology to make you, for the diſappointment you are at laſt like to receive in the tranſlation of your *Eſſay*. But, to a candid and ingenious man, the beſt excuſe is a plain narrative of the matter of fact.

The gentleman whom I formerly mentioned to you, Mr. *Mullart*, went into the country about the middle of laſt *June*, and return'd about a fortnight ago. When he went away, he aſſur'd me, he would make a conſiderable progreſs in the work, in a month or ſix weeks time; but he was taken ill for about a fortnight, and, at his return, I found he had ſcarce done four pages of the book. I found alſo, (as you rightly furmiſed) that his ſtile will hardly anſwer expectation; but this difficulty, I thought, might be overcome by time and application. But what to ſay to his very ſlow perform-

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ance I cannot tell, or whether it may anſwer your or your bookſeller's deſigns. But that which moſt of all diſcourages me, is, that the young man himſelf ſeems not very fond of the undertaking, but has fix'd his thoughts on another purſuit. I formerly told you how he deſigned for a fellowſhip, had any at that time hapen'd vacant, as there did none. But very lately there are two fellowſhips become void, and a third like to be ſo, before the time of ſitting for them, which is next *June* 1696; and he tells me plainly, he muſt endeavour to get one of them; and that there will be, at leaſt, five competitors, if not ſix, who are all his *ſeniors*; and therefore, he muſt uſe his utmoſt diligence, application, and ſtudy in the intermediate time, to fit himſelf for the examination they undergo; and this, he ſays, will take up ſo much of his time, that he knows not whether he ſhall have any to ſpare for the tranſlation.

I cannot well tell which way next to turn my ſelf in this affair. I have but one anchor more, and that is not at hand immediately to uſe. There is a gentleman of my acquaintance, the greateſt maſter of ſtile of any I have known, who, I am confident, would perform this work to your utmoſt ſatisfaction; but he is not, at preſent, in town, and when he comes, (which, I expect,

I expect, may be about *Michaelmas* next, as I have it from himself) I make some doubt, whether his other avocations will permit him to undertake this. He is Chancellor of the diocese of *Down* and *Connor*, and has also a private work of his own, in latin, now fitting for the press, which he permits to run through my hands, as he goes on with it. When he comes to town, I will move him in it, if you will give me leave, and you shall know the event.

I am mightily pleased that your *Essay* is abridg'd, tho', for my own reading, I would not part with a syllable of it. However, others may not have so much leisure as to set on a large book, and for such the abridgment may be useful. 'Tis to me no small argument of the curious genius of the english nation, that a work, so abstract as yours, should now suffer three impressions in so short a time.

I have had already, so much experience of your method of *Education*, that I long to see your third edition. And since you put me upon it, (to whom I can refuse nothing in my power) I will give you a short account of my little boy's progress under it.

He was six year old about the middle of last *July*. When he was but just turn'd five, he could read perfectly well; and on the globes could have traced out, and pointed at,

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all the noted parts, countries, and cities of the world, both land and ſea. And by five and an half could perform many of the plaineſt problems on the globe, as the longitude and latitude, the antipodes, the time with them and other countries, *&c.* and this by way of play and diverſion, ſeldom call'd to it, never chid or beaten for it. About the ſame age he could read any number of figures, not exceeding ſix places, break it as you pleaſe by cyphers or zero's. By the time he was ſix, he could manage a compaſs, ruler, and pencil, very prettily, and perform many little geometrical tricks, and advanced to writing and arithmetick; and has been about three months at latin, wherein his tutor obſerves, as nigh as he can, the method preſcribed by you. He can read a gazet, and, in the large maps of *Sanſon*, ſhews moſt of the remarkable places as he goes along, and turn to the proper maps. He has been ſhewn ſome dogs diſſected, and can give ſome little account of the grand traces of anatomy. And as to the formation of his mind, which you rightly obſerve to be the moſt valuable part of education, I do not believe that any child had ever his paſſions more perfectly at command. He is obedient and obſervant to the niceſt particular, and at the ſame time ſprightly, playful, and active.

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But I will ſay no more, this may be tireſome to others, however pleaſing to my ſelf.

I have ſome thoughts of ſeeing *England* next ſpring, or ſummer, but the time I cannot prefix as yet, till I ſee how our affairs are like to go in parliament, and whether we are like to have another ſeſſion, and when. 'Tother day I chanced to mention your name accidentally to his excellency my Lord *Capel*, who thereupon expreſſed himſelf with the utmoſt reſpect and eſteem for you. I am,

Honour'd Sir,

Your moſt affectionate,

humble ſervant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr. LOCKE *to Mr.* MOLYNEUX.

SIR, *London*, 16. *Nov.* 1695.

THough there be no man in the world that I ſo much long to ſee as you, yet your laſt letter, of the ſecond inſtant, makes me afraid of your coming. Your kindneſs and expreſſion, in my favour, has painted me ſo in your fancy, that I ſhall unavoidably

unavoidably fall many degrees in your esteem, when you find me come so much short of what you expected; *paratus est mihi magnus adversarius expectatio*, as I remember, *Tully* somewhere says. One thing only I have to satisfie my self, *viz.* That, whatever I may want of those qualities you ascribe to me, I have one that helps mightily to cover defects, and make one acceptable, without the recommendation of great perfections, I mean friendship, true and sincere. This I can boast of to you, this I can bid you expect, and tell you you shall not be deceived. Come then, but come with this resolution, that you will be content, that shall make up to you all those fine things which you imagine before hand, in a man whom you will really find a plain, honest, well-meaning man, who unbyassedly seeks truth, though it be but a very small part of it he has yet discover'd.

I am very glad you approve the additions to the third edition of my *Education*; you are a father, and are concerned not to be deceived, and therefore I expect you will not flatter me in this point. You speak so well of that you have, that I shall take care to have another of those treatises of *Interest* and *Coinage* sent to you. The affair of our mony, which is in a lamentable state, is now under debate here, what the issue will

will be, I know not; I pray for a good one. I find every body almoſt looks on it as a myſtery; to me there appears to be none at all in it. 'Tis but ſtripping it of the cant which all men that talk of it, involve it in, and there is nothing eaſier, lay by the arbitrary names of pence and ſhillings, and conſider and ſpeak of it as grains and ounces of ſilver, and 'tis as eaſy as telling of twenty.

I had a great deal more to ſay to you, in anſwer to this, and two other obliging letters, I am indebted to you for. But I am ſent for into the country by an expreſs. I am,

SIR,

Your moſt humble, and

moſt affectionate ſervant,

JOHN LOCKE.

Mr. LOCKE *to Mr.* MOLYNEUX.

SIR, *Oates*, 20 *Nov.* 1695.

BEfore I left *London*, I gave order that the book you deſired about *Intereſt* and *Money*, ſhould be ſent you by the firſt opportunity. But 'tis to you I ſend it, and not

not to any body elſe; you may give it to whom you pleaſe, for 'tis yours as ſoon as you receive it, but pray do not give it to any body in my name, or as a preſent from me. And however you are pleaſed to make me a compliment, in making me the author of a book you think well of, yet you may be ſure I do not own it to be mine, till you ſee my name to it.

You, I ſee, are troubled there about your money, as well as we are here, tho', I hope, you are not ſo deep in that diſeaſe as we are. A little before his Majeſties return, the Lords Juſtices here had this matter under conſideration, and, amongſt others, were pleaſed to ſend to me for my thoughts about it. This is too publickly known here, to make the mentioning of it to you appear vanity in me. The paper I here incloſe would ſeem a ſtrange thing, did I not tell you the occaſion of my writing it. And, ſince ſome of my friends here perſuade me, it gives ſome light to that, which the ſtateſman you mention, thinks ſo profound a myſtery; I have taken the liberty to ſend it you, either to open that matter a little farther to you, or that you may ſhew me the miſtakes and defects of it. But, pray, whatever uſe you make of it, conceal my name.

I writ

I writ to you from *London*, just as I was leaving the town in haste, in answer to yours of the second instant. You must pardon the faults of that to the hurry and disturbance I was then in. I am not much more at leisure, or at quiet, now; but shame will not suffer me to be silent any longer, under the obligation of two other letters I have by me of yours unanswer'd.

I cannot read yours of the 24th of *August* last, without finding new marks of your kindness to me, in the concern you therein express to get a good hand for the translating my *Essay*. I think, at last, you have got a better than I could have expected. I designed to have brought Mr. *Churchill* and him together, and settled that matter before I left *London*; but I was so unexpectedly called thence, that I left that and several other businesses undone. But I took order with Mr. *Churchill*, my bookseller, to go to him; he is a reasonable man, and, I doubt not, but it will be taken care of, as well as if I were there. I think the abridgment is near, if not quite printed, but I had not the time or memory to enquire, after my hasty summons into the country. I was told too, when I was in town, that some body is printing against it; if it be a fair enquirer I shall be glad, if a wrangling disputant, I shall not mind him.

Mr. *Burridge* is the man you ſpeak him to be, in yours of *September* 19. Had I ſtay'd in *London*, I think, I ſhould have been able to have procured him ſome particulars, would have been of uſe to him in his deſign. Some of them I have taken care he ſhould receive, notwithſtanding my abſence. But perhaps they might have been more, could I have ſtay'd till more of my acquaintance were come to town. I am now in an houſe of ſorrow and buſineſs, which hinders me from that freedom I would be in, when I write to you. I am,

SIR,

your moſt affectionate,

humble ſervant,

JOHN LOCKE.

Mr. MOLYNEUX *to Mr.* LOCKE.

SIR, *Dublin, December* 24. 1695.

I am aſhamed to ſay, that I have two of yours before me unanſwer'd.

Yours of *Nov.* 20. brought me a paper, which, of all things I have ever ſeen on that ſubject, I moſt highly admire. You have therein revealed the whole myſtery of money,

money, exchange, trade, *&c.* which have hitherto been wrap'd up in unintelligible cant, I believe, partly out of knavery, partly out of ignorance. You gave me liberty to make what use of it I pleased, and therefore I ventur'd to give a copy of it to his excellency my Lord Deputy *Capel*, rather than the book of *Interest* and *Coynage*, which I thought might be too long for his present perusal in his multitude of business. But I can tell you, that your admirable perspicuity of writing, is so clearly different from all the world, and almost peculiar to your self; that in vain you expect to be conceal'd in any thing that comes from you. For, I assure you, in some discourse I had with his excellency, no longer ago than yesterday, concerning the business of money; he asked me (without any occasion given him from me) whether I had ever seen Mr. *Locke*'s book of *interest*, *&c.* for he has formerly known (as I think I have told you) that I had the happiness of your acquaintance; I reply'd to his Lordship, That I had seen such a book, but that it did not bear your name in it. He answer'd me: The printer presented it to him as yours; and besides, (says he) all the world knows Mr. *Locke*'s way of writing; and, if I may guess, I believe the paper you gave me a few days ago, came from Mr. *Locke*; pray,

did it not? I told his Excellency I was under ſome obligation to conceal the author. That's enough (ſays he) I am ſure 'tis his, and will put his name to it, and lay it up among my choiceſt papers.

I have lately received three ſmall prints from *London*, concerning the ſubject of money. They were incloſed in a blank wrapper, and frank'd to me by Sir *Walter Younge* Bar. a gentleman whom I never ſaw, and have no manner of acquaintance with. I wonder how he comes to confer an obligation on me ſo ſuitable and agreeable to my preſent thoughts. If you have any hand in this favour to me, be pleaſed to accept of my thanks, and to expreſs the ſame to Sir *Walter*. The titles of thoſe papers are,

Sir. W. Petty's quantulumcunque *concerning money*.

A letter from an engliſh merchant at Amſterdam *to his friend at* London, *concerning the trade and coyn of* England.

Some queſtions anſwer'd, relating to the badneſs of the now ſilver coyn of England.

I hear Mr. *Lownds* of the treaſury has publiſh'd ſomething on that ſubject, and that Mr. *Flamſted* has anſwer'd him, in a tract he calls *five not ſix*.

I wiſh

I wiſh I could ſee them both, and ſhall beg the favour of you, if this letter finds you at *London*, to get them beaten pretty cloſe, and wrap'd up in folds, and directed to me, unleſs they be much too bulky for the poſt. You need not have them frank'd, for our letters come to us ſo, as we are of the parliament here.

I herewith ſend you incloſed the copy of a letter from an ingenious man, on the problem, which you have honour'd with a place in pag. 67. of your *Eſſay*. You will find thereby, that what I ſay of its puzling ſome ingenious men is true; and you will eaſily diſcover by what falſe ſteps this gentleman is lead into his error. The letter was communicated to me by the party to whom it was writ, Dr. *Quayl*. And the writer of the letter, Mr. *Edw. Synge*, is the author of a little book call'd the *Gentleman's Religion*, which is vended as yours. The gentleman is on a ſecond part, which he will ſhew me before he ſends it to the preſs. But this is only between our ſelves, and the bookſeller, who has been lately informed of thus much already. For tho' the book ſhews not that freedom of thought as you or I, perhaps, may expect, yet it ſhews enough to incenſe his own herd againſt him, for there is little of *Myſtery* or *Enthuſiaſtick* in it, and yet the author is a clergy

man. And you know that, in a writer on a religious ſubject, 'tis an high offence, even to be ſilent on thoſe abſtruſe points. The clergy are not diſſatisfy'd only with thoſe that plainly *oppoſe* them, but are inraged alſo, even at thoſe that omit zealouſly to *advance* them; as we have had a late inſtance in him that writes againſt the *Reaſonableneſs of Chriſtianity*.

I ſhould be mighty glad to hear that Mr. *Burridge* had ſet upon tranſlating your *Eſſay*. I believe he will do it well.

I ſhall alſo be very much obliged by any information you give me, of whatſoever is done or doing by your ſelf, or others, relating to your works, of which there is none a more devoted admirer than the excellent author's

Moſt affectionate humble ſervant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr. SYNGE *to Dr.* QUAYL.

Dear Sir, *Corke, September 6.* 1695.

Mr. *Molyneux*'s ingenious queſtion, of which you gave me an account at Mr. *Lukey*'s yeſterday, has run ſo much in my

my mind ever ſince, that I could ſcarce drive it out of my thoughts. To be reveng'd on you therefore for putting my brains in ſuch a ferment, I have reſolved to be ſo impertinent as to ſend you the reſult of my meditations upon the ſubject.

The caſe is this, A man born perfectly blind has a globe and a cube given into his hands, and inſtructed, as much as he is capable of, in the notion of each of theſe figures, and the difference between them. Let us now ſuppoſe this man ſuddenly to be endowed with the ſenſe of ſeeing, and the queſtion is, whether the globe and the cube being placed before his eyes, he would be able, by his ſight alone, and without touching them, to tell which was the globe, and which the cube.

For the better underſtanding of what I ſhall ſay on this queſtion, I deſire you to take notice, that I call every notion of any thing which a man entertains, an *Idea*; but that notion only, which a man entertains of a viſible thing, as it is viſible, I call an *Image*.

This being premiſed, I lay down theſe propoſitions.

1. A man born blind may have a true (tho' perhaps not a perfect) *idea* of a globe and of a cube, and of ſome difference which is between them.

This evidently appears, becauſe he will certainly be able by his touch to diſtinguiſh them one from the other.

2. A man who has ever been perfectly blind, and whilſt he ſo remains, can have no *image* in his mind, either of a cube or globe.

This, in my opinion, is very evident, becauſe there is no paſſage (but the organs of ſight, of which we ſuppoſe him to be deprived) for ſuch an image to enter; and I take it for granted, that ſuch images are not innate in mens apprehenſions.

3. Such a man, as ſoon as he is endowed with the ſenſe of ſeeing, will immediately have a different *image* in his mind, of a globe and of a cube, as ſoon as they are expoſed to his ſight.

This muſt needs be ſo, if his ſight, and the organs thereof be ſuch as ours, which we ſuppoſe.

4. And if immediately, upon the ſight of the globe and cube, there be grounds enough for ſuch a perſon clearly to perceive the agreement, and the difference between his pre-conceived *ideas* and newly conceived *images* of thoſe figures, then may he be able to know which is the globe, and which the cube, without touching them again after he has ſeen them.

For

For the agreement which he may find between his *idea* and his *image* of a globe, and the difference of the *idea* of a globe from the *image* of a cube (*& ſic vice versâ*) will be a ſufficient direction to him. (If I ſay, there be ſufficient ground immediately to perceive the ſaid agreement and difference.)

5. The idea which ſuch a blind man muſt needs, by his touch alone, form of a globe, will be this, that it is a body which is exactly alike on all ſides.

For let him roll it as often as he will between his hands, and he can find no manner of difference between the one ſide and the other.

6. Part of the *idea* which ſuch a man muſt needs, by his touch, conceive of a cube, will be, that it is a body which is not alike in every part of its ſuperficies.

For in one part he feels a ſmooth flat, in another the ſharp point of an angle, and in a third, a long ridge which reaches from one angle to another.

7. The *image*, which at the firſt ſight ſuch a man will form of a globe, muſt needs repreſent it as a body which is alike on all ſides, which conſequently muſt be agreeable to the *idea*, which he before had of it, and different from that *idea* which he had of a cube.

For

For turn a globe ten thouſand ways, and it ſtill carries the ſame aſpect, if it be all of the ſame colour which we now ſuppoſe.

8. The *image* which, upon the firſt view, ſuch a man will frame of a cube, muſt needs be this, that it is a body which is not alike in all the parts of its ſuperficies, which conſequently muſt be agreeable to the *idea* which before he had of it, and different from that *idea* which he had of a globe.

For a cube does not carry the ſame aſpect when it is expoſed to our ſight in different poſitions.

Since then the *image*, which ſuch a man would have of a globe, would be agreeable to the *idea* which before he had conceiv'd of it, and different from that *idea* which before he had entertain'd of a cube (*& ſic vice versâ*) it follows, that by his ſight alone he might be able to know which was the globe, and which the cube.

I have no more, but to wiſh you a good journey, and tell you, that if you call me impertinent for ſending you my thoughts upon ſuch a ſpeculation, I will retort, and tell that it was your ſelf who put the queſtion to

Your affectionate friend,
and faithful ſervant,
EDW. SYNGE.

Mr.

Mr. MOLYNEUX *to Mr.* LOCKE.

SIR, *Dublin, March* 14. 169$\frac{5}{6}$.

AS nothing is more pleasing to me than a letter from you, so my concern is not little, when in so long a time I have wanted that satisfaction; and more especially so, when I have reason to fear it may proceed from your indisposition in health. The last letter I had from Mr. *Churchill* intimated to me that you were not well, and I have not yet received any account to the contrary; so that my fears daily increase upon me, and I shall be very uneasie till I receive the glad tidings of your recovery and safety.

Mr. *Lownds*'s book about our coyn, and yours against him (which I understand you have sent me, and for which I most heartily thank you) are not yet arrived; when they come, you shall hear farther from me concerning them.

I have lately received a letter from Mr. *Burridge*, who is gone down to his cure in the country; he takes all opportunities of thanking you for the civil reception you gave him; and, as it was upon my recommendation, I must also thank you for my share in the

the favour. He tells me he has read over your *Essay* carefully, and has just set upon the translation thereof; but he has not yet sent me any specimen thereof, when he does you shall receive it forthwith from me. I doubt not but he will perform it to your satisfaction; there is not a man in *Ireland*, but himself, for whom I dare promise so boldly in this matter. One thing he intimates to me, which I must needs mention to you, as being so agreeable to the apprehensions I have always had of the excellent author of the *Essay*, to whom I have sometimes presumed to propose it, *viz.* That he would write *a book of offices*, or *moral philosophy*. I give you Mr. *Burridge*'s own words, who goes on, *The fine strokes which he has frequently in his* Essay, *make me think he would perform it admirably. I wish you'd try his inclinations; you may assure him, I will cheerfully undertake the translation of it afterwards.*

Thus you see, Sir, how you are attack'd on all sides; I doubt not but you have as frequent solicitations from your friends in *England*. I will at this time add nothing more to the troublesome importunity. Only, on this occasion, I will venture to tell you, that I have a design on Mr. *Burridge*, to get him, by degrees, to translate

all

all the books you have written, and will give leave for. I am,

Honour'd Sir,

Your most affectionate,

humble servant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr. LOCKE *to Mr.* MOLYNEUX.

SIR, *Oates*, 30. *March.* 1696.

THough I have been very ill this winter, not without some apprehensions of my life, yet I am asham'd that either that or business, that has took up more of my time than my health could well allow, should keep me so long silent, to a man so kindly concern'd to hear from me. 'Twas more than once that I resolv'd on the next post, but still something or other came between; and I more readily yielded to delays, in hopes to hear something from you, concerning my answer to Mr. *Lowndes*. If this be a fault in me, it is such an one that I am guilty of to no body but my friends. Perhaps the running from ceremony or punctuality towards those whom I look on as my

my ſure friends, that is, my ſelf, may ſometimes carrry me a little too far to the other ſide. But if you diſapprove of it I ſhall only ſay, it is an ill effect of a very good cauſe; and beg you to believe, that I ſhall never be tardy in writing, ſpeaking, or doing, whenever I ſhall think it may be of any moment to the leaſt intereſt of yours.

The buſineſs of our money has ſo near brought us to ruin, that, 'till the plot broke out, it was every body's talk, every body's uneaſineſs. And becauſe I had play'd the fool to print about it, there was ſcarce a poſt wherein ſomebody or other did not give me freſh trouble about it. But now the parliament has reduced guineas to two and twenty ſhillings a piece after the 16*th.* inſtant, and prohibited the receipt of clipp'd money after the 4*th.* of *May* next. The bill has paſſed both houſes, and, I believe, will ſpeedily receive the royal aſſent. Though I can never bethink any pains or time of mine, in the ſervice of my country, as far as I may be of any uſe, yet I muſt own to you, this, and the like ſubjects, are not thoſe which I now reliſh, or that do, with moſt pleaſure, employ my thoughts; and therefore ſhall not be ſorry if I ſcape a very honourable employment, with a thouſand pounds a year ſalary annex'd to it, to which the king was pleaſed to nominate me

ſome

ſome time ſince. May I have but quiet and leiſure, and a competency of health to perfect ſome thoughts my mind is ſometimes upon, I ſhould deſire no more for my ſelf in this world, if one thing were added to it, *viz.* you in my neighbourhood. You cannot imagine how much I want ſuch a friend within diſtance, with whom I could confer freely *de quolibet ente*, and have his ſenſe of my reveries, and his judgment to guide me.

I am aſham'd to receive ſo many thanks for having done ſo little for a man who came recommended to me by you. I had ſo little opportunity to ſhew the civility I would have done to Mr. *Burridge*, that I ſhould not know how to excuſe it to you or him, were not he himſelf a witneſs of the perpetual hurry I was in, all the time I was then in town. I doubt not at all of his performance in the tranſlation of my book he has undertaken. He has underſtanding, and latin, much beyond thoſe who uſually medle with ſuch works. And I am ſo well ſatisfyed, both of his ability, and your care, that the ſending me a ſpecimen I ſhall look on as more than needs. As to *a treatiſe of morals*, I muſt own to you, that you are not the only perſons (you and Mr. *Burridge* I mean) who have been for putting me upon it; neither have I

wholly

wholly laid by the thoughts of it. Nay, I ſo far incline to comply with your deſires, that I ever now and then lay by ſome materials for it, as they occaſionally occur in the rovings of my mind. But when I conſider, that a book of *Offices*, as you call it, ought not to be ſlightly done, eſpecially by me, after what I have ſaid of that ſcience in my *Eſſay*; and that *Nonumque prematur in annum* is a rule more neceſſary to be obſerv'd in a ſubject of that conſequence, than in any thing *Horace* ſpeaks of; I am in doubt whether it would be prudent, in one of my age and health, not to mention other diſabilities in me, to ſet about it. Did the world want a rule, I confeſs there could be no work ſo neceſſary, nor ſo commendable. But the Goſpel contains ſo perfect a body of Ethicks, that reaſon may be excuſed from that enquiry, ſince ſhe may find man's duty clearer and eaſier in revelation than in herſelf. Think not this the excuſe of a lazy man, though it be, perhaps, of one, who having a ſufficient rule for his actions, is content therewith, and thinks he may, perhaps, with more profit to himſelf, employ the little time and ſtrength he has in other re-ſearches, wherein he finds himſelf more in the dark.

You put too great a value on my writings, by the deſign you own on Mr. *Burridge*, in reference

reference to them. I am not to flatter my ſelf, that becauſe they have had the good luck to paſs pretty well here amongſt *Engliſh* readers, that therefore they will ſatisfie the learned world, and be fit to appear in the learned language. Mr. *Wynne*'s abſtract of my *Eſſay* is now publiſhed, and I have ſent order to Mr. *Churchill* to ſend you one of them. Thus far in anſwer to yours of the 14th. of *March*. I come now to that of the 24th. of *December*.

My Lord Deputy and you did too great honour to the paper I ſent you, and to me, upon that account. I know too well the deficiency of my ſtile, to think it deſerves the commendations you give it. That which makes my writings tolerable, if any thing, is only this, that I never write for any thing but truth, and never publiſh any thing to others, which I am not fully perſuaded of my ſelf, and do not think that I underſtand. So that I never have need of falſe colours to ſet off the weak parts of an hypotheſis, or of obſcure expreſſions, or the aſſiſtance of artificial jargon, to cover an error of my ſyſtem or party. Where I am ignorant (for what is our knowledge) I own it. And though I am not proud of my errors, yet I am always ready and glad to be convinced of any of them. I think there wants nothing but ſuch a preference of truth to

party, interest, and vain glory, to make any body out-doe me in what you seem so much to admire.

Though Sir *Walter Younge* be an intimate friend of mine, yet I can assure you I know nothing of those three prints he franked to you, and so have no title to any part of your thanks.

I see by Mr. *S*'s answer to that which was originally your question, how hard it is, for even ingenious men to free themselves from the anticipations of sense. The first step towards knowledge is to have clear and distinct ideas; which I have just reason every day more and more, to think few men ever have, or think themselves to want; which is one great cause of that infinite jargon and nonsense which so pesters the world. You have a good subject to work on; and therefore, pray let this be your chief care to fill your son's head with clear and distinct ideas, and teach him, on all occasions, both by practice and rule, how to get them, and the necessity of it. This, together with a mind active, and set upon the attaining of reputation and truth, is the true principling of a young man. But to give him a reverence for our opinions, because we taught them, is not to make knowing men, but prating parrots. I beg your pardon for this liberty; it is an expression

of

of good will, and not the leſs ſo, becauſe not within the preciſe forms of good breeding. I am,

Dear Sir,

Your moſt affectionate,

humble ſervant,

JOHN LOCKE.

Mr. MOLYNEUX *to Mr.* LOCKE.

Honoured Sir, *Dublin, June 6. 1696.*

'TIs a melancholly thought to me, that ſince I have had the happineſs of your correſpondence, there has hardly happen'd a year, when both you and I have not made it an apology for our long ſilence, that we have been indiſpoſed in our health; yet it has pleaſed God, that ſo it has been, and ſo it is on my ſide at preſent. About four years and an half ago I was firſt ſeized by a violent cholick, which then ſo weaken'd me, that, to this time, I lye ſo far under the effects thereof, as upon any cold to be very apt to relapſe into the ſame. And ſo it has been with me for a while paſt, but now, God be thanked, I am again well recover'd. I had not otherwiſe ſo long de-

ſer'd my anſwer to yours of *March* the 30*th*, which, after a long ſilence, brought me the aſſurance of your health, and therewith no ſmall ſatisfaction; having, before that, entertain'd ſome painful thoughts of your indiſpoſition, from ſome rumours I had heard. But, I find, heaven is not yet ſo angry with us as to take you from amongſt us.

And now I moſt heartily congratulate you, both on the recovery of your health, and on the honourable preferment you have lately received from his majeſty. In your writings concerning money, you have given ſuch demonſtrative proofs of your reach, even in the buſineſs of the world, that I ſhould have wonder'd had the king overlook'd you. And I do as much wonder, that, after what you have publiſh'd on that ſubject, there ſhould remain the leaſt doubt with any man concerning that matter. But, I fancy, 'tis only thoſe who are prejudiced by their intereſt, that ſeem to be diſſatisfy'd; ſuch as bankers, *&c.* who made a prey of the people's ignorance in this great affair. But, I think, you have clear'd up the myſtery, and made it ſo plain to all mens capacities, that *England* will never again fall into the like inconveniencies. 'Till you writ, we uſed money as the *Indians* do their *wampompeek*, it ſerv'd us well enough for buying and ſelling, and we were content,

and heeded it no farther; but for the intimate nature, affections, and properties thereof, we no more underſtand them than the *Indians* their ſhells.

I have read over Mr. *Wynne*'s abridgment of your *Eſſay*. But I muſt confeſs to you, I was never more ſatisfy'd with the length of your *Eſſay*, than ſince I have ſeen this abridgment; which, tho' done juſtly enough, yet falls ſo ſhort of that ſpirit which every where ſhews it ſelf in the original, that nothing can be more different. To one already vers'd in the *Eſſay*, the abridgment ſerves as a good remembrancer; but, I believe, let a man wholly unacquainted with the former, begin to read the latter, and he will not ſo well reliſh it. So that how deſirous ſoever I might have formerly been of ſeeing your *Eſſay* put into the form of a logick for the ſchools, I am now fully ſatisfy'd I was in an error; and muſt freely confeſs to you, that I wiſh Mr. *Wynne*'s abridgment had been yet undone. That ſtrength of thought and expreſſion, that every where reigns throughout your works, makes me ſometimes wiſh them twice as long.

I find by ſome little pieces, I have lately met with, that you are the reputed *author* of the *Reaſonableneſs of Chriſtianity*; whether it be really ſo or not, I will not preſume to

enquire, becauſe there is no name to the book; this only I will venture to ſay on that head, that whoever is the *author* or *vindicator* thereof, he has gotten as weak an adverſary in Mr. *Edwards* to deal with, as a man could wiſh; ſo much unmannerly paſſion, and *Billingſgate* language, I have not ſeen any man uſe. In ſo much that were Mr. *Edwards* to defend the beſt cauſe in the world, ſhould he do it in that manner, he would ſpoil it. Were an angel of heaven to juſtifie a truth with virulence and heat, he would not prevail.

And now, my ever honour'd friend, with much reluctance, I am to tell you, that I cannot be ſo happy this ſummer as to ſee you in *England*. 'Tis needleſs to trouble you with a long detale of the reaſons hereof; but what between my own private affairs, and a little place I have in the publick, ſo it is, and I cannot help it. But as a ſmall repair to my ſelf, of this diſappointment, I ſhall beg the favour of you to admit a young gentleman, whom I ſhall ſend to you within a while, only to look on you, and afterwards to look on a picture of yours, which, I hear, is at Mr. *Churchill*'s. The young gentleman's name is *Howard*, a modeſt and ingenious youth, and excellently ſkill'd both in the judicious and practical part of painting; for his advancement where-

in

in he is now kept at *London*, and designs soon for *Italy*. He is eldest brother to my brother's wife, of a good fortune and family. If, by his report, I understand that that picture of yours at Mr. *Churchill*'s be an excellent piece, and like you, he will procure it to be finely copyed for me, and I may save you the trouble of sitting; but if it prove otherwise, and be not worth copying, I will then make it my request to you, that, at your leisure, you would spare me so many hours time as to sit for such a hand as Mr. *Howard* shall procure to take your picture. This I thought fit to intimate to you before hand, that when he waits on you, you may be forewarn'd of his business.

I doubt not, but by this time you have heard of our Lord Deputy *Capel*'s death. We are now under a most unsettled government, and our eyes are fix'd on *England* for relief. Some here wish for your noble patron, my Lord *Pembroke*, and go so far as to say, that he will be the man. I am confident we should be happy under one that favour'd you; and if there be any thing in this report, you would highly favour me by letting his Lordship know, that here he will find me, amongst several others, that are your admirers; for that I reckon the most advantageous character I can come recommended under to his Lordship.

Mr. *Burridge* has been ſo lately taken up with his eccleſiaſtick affairs in the country, that (as he writes me word) he has hitherto made but little farther progreſs in the tranſlation of the *Eſſay*, but he promiſes now to ſet about it earneſtly. I wiſh you would give me your free opinion of what I have already ſent you thereof.

I fear your publick buſineſs will, in ſome meaſure, take you off from your more retired thoughts, by which the world was gainers every day. But, good Sir, let me intreat you, that at your leiſure hours you would think on, and ſend a line to

Your moſt affectionate, and

humble ſervant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr. LOCKE *to Mr.* MOLYNEUX.

SIR, *London*, 2. *July*. 1696.

I Cannot, without great trouble, hear of any indiſpoſition of yours; your friendſhip, which heaven has beſtow'd on me, as one of the greateſt bleſſings I can enjoy for the remainder of my life, is what I value at ſo high a rate, that I cannot conſider my ſelf within danger of loſing a perſon every

every way ſo dear to me, without very great uneaſineſs of mind.

Thus far I got when I ſat down to write to you about a month ſince, as you will ſee by the date at the top; buſineſs, and a little excurſion into the country, has hinder'd me ever ſince. Were you a man I only cared to talk with out of civility, I ſhould ſooner anſwer your letters. But, not contenting my ſelf with ſuch a formal correſpondence with you, I cannot find in my heart to begin writing to you, 'till I think I ſhall have time to talk a great deal, and pour out my mind to a man to whom I make ſure I can do it with freedom; his candor and friendſhip allows that, and I find I know not what pleaſure in doing it. I promiſed my ſelf abundance of pleaſure this ſummer in ſeeing you here, and the diſappointment is one of the moſt ſenſible I could have met with in my private concerns; and the occaſion that rob'd me of that ſatisfaction frights me. I have, I thank God, now as much health as my conſtitution will allow me to expect. But yet, if I will think like a reaſonable man, the flattery of my ſummer vigor, ought not to make me count beyond the next winter at any time for the future. The laſt ſat ſo heavy upon me, that it was with difficulty I got through it; and you will not blame me if I have a long-

ing

ing to ſee and imbrace a man I eſteem and love ſo much, before I leave this ſilly earth; which, when the conveniencies of life are moderately provided for, has nothing of value in it equal to the converſation of a knowing, ingenious, and large-minded friend, who ſincerely loves and ſeeks truth.

When I took pen in hand to continue this letter, I had yours of *March* and *June* laſt before me, with a deſign to anſwer them. But my pen run on, as you ſee, before I could get leave of my forward thoughts, to come to what was my chief buſineſs, *viz.* To read again, and anſwer thoſe kind letters of yours.

That of *March* 28. brought me a ſample of Mr. *Burridge*'s tranſlation; upon my reading of it, I began to correct it after my faſhion, and intended to have gone through that, and ſo all the reſt of the ſheets, as they came to my hand; but ſome other more preſſing occaſion interrupted me, and now I am paſt all hopes to have any leiſure at all to do any thing more to it in that kind, and muſt wholly leave it to his and your care. When I ſay your care, I do not make ſo ill an uſe of your kindneſs, as to expect you ſhould look it over and correct it; but I doubt not, but you have ſuch an intereſt in your college, that you can have the aſſiſtance of ſome able man there

to

to do it. The ſubject itſelf, and my way of expreſſing my thoughts upon them, may, I doubt not, but be very different from the genius of the latin tongue, and therefore I ſhould not think it amiſs, if Mr. *Burridge* would take more liberty to quit the ſcheme and phraſe of my ſtile, and ſo he takes but my ſenſe, to comply more with the turn and manner of *Tully*'s philoſophical language. For ſo he has but my ſenſe, I care not how much he neglects my words; and whether he expreſſes my thoughts, you are as good a judge as I, for I think you as much maſter of them. I ſay this to excuſe you from the trouble of ſending his papers over to me as he diſpatches them; for, in my preſent circumſtances, I ſhall hardly have time ſo much as to peruſe them. Pray when you ſee, or ſend to him, give him my humble ſervice.

Though your cholick has done me no ſmall prejudice, yet I am much more angry with it, upon the account of thoſe inconveniencies it has made you ſuffer. I know you are in ſkilful, as well as careful hands, under the care of your brother, and it could not be adviſeable in any one to draw you from them. The cholick is ſo general a name for pains in the lower belly, that I cannot from thence pretend to make any judgment of your caſe; but it can be no

harm

harm to advise you to ask him whether he does not think that the drinking of our *Bath* waters may be useful to you in your case. I know those waters mightily strengthen those parts.

Your congratulation to me I take as you meant, kindly, and seriously, and, it may be, it is what another would rejoyce in; but, if you will give me leave to whisper truth, without vanity, in the ear of a friend, 'tis a preferment which I shall get nothing by, and I know not whether my country will, tho' that I shall aim at with all my endeavours.

Riches may be instrumental to so many good purposes, that it is, I think, vanity, rather than religion or philosophy, to pretend to contemn them. But yet they may be purchased too dear. My age and health demand a retreat from bustle and business, and the pursuit of some enquiries I have in my thoughts, makes it more desirable than any of those rewards which publick employments tempt people with. I think the little I have enough, and do not desire to live higher, or die richer than I am. And therefore you have reason rather to pity the folly, than congratulate the fortune, that engages me in the whirlpool.

'Tis your pre-occupation, in favour of me, that makes you say what you do of

Mr.

Mr. *Wynne*'s abridgment; I know not whether it be that, or any thing elſe, that has occaſion'd it; but I was told, ſome time ſince, that my *Eſſay* began to get ſome credit in *Cambridge*, where, I think for ſome years after it was publiſhed, it was ſcarce ſo much as looked into. But now, I have ſome reaſon to think it is a little more favourably received there, by theſe two queſtions held there this laſt commencement; *viz. Probabile eſt animam non ſemper cogitare:* And, *Idea dei non eſt innata.*

What you ſay of the *Reaſonableneſs of Chriſtianity*, gives me occaſion to aſk your thoughts of that *treatiſe*, and alſo how it paſſes amongſt you there; for here, at its firſt coming out, it was receiv'd with no indifferency, ſome ſpeaking of it with great commendation, but moſt cenſuring it as a very bad book. What you ſay of Mr. *Edwards* is ſo viſible, that I find all the world of your mind.

This is now a third ſitting before I finiſh this letter, whereby, I fear, I ſhall give you an ill picture of my ſelf. By the reading of the next paragraph of your obliging letter of *June* 6, I am mightily comforted to find that it is not want of health (as it run in my head, by a ſtrong impreſſion, I found remain'd in my mind, from the cholick mentioned in the beginning of

your

your letter) but buſineſs that keeps me this year from the happyneſs of your company. This is much more tolerable to me than the other, and though I ſuffer by it, yet I can bear it the better, whilſt there is room to hope it may be ſuch that both you and your country may receive advantage by it. Mr. *Howard*, who I was reſolving yeſterday morning to enquire after, prevented me by a viſit he made me, wherein he gave me an account he had received a letter from you ſince his return from *Cambridge*. That which you deſire of me, as the chief reaſon of affording me his acquaintance, is what I cannot refuſe, and yet it cauſes in me ſome confuſion to grant. If the original could do you any ſervice, I ſhall be glad; but to think my picture worth your having, would carry too much vanity with it, to allow my conſent, did not the ſkill of the painter often make amends for the meanneſs of the ſubject, and a good pencil frequently make the painted repreſentation of more value than the real ſubſtance. This may probably be my caſe. Mr. *Howard* is a very pretty young gentleman, and I thank you for his acquaintance. I wiſh it lay in my power to do him any ſervice whilſt he is here. If the length of my letter could be an excuſe for the ſlowneſs of its coming, I have certainly made a very ample apology;

though

though I ſatisfie my ſelf, neither in being ſilent ſo long, nor in tiring you with talking ſo much now; but 'tis from an heart wholly devoted to you. I am,

4. *Auguſt.* 1696. SIR,

Your moſt affectionate,

humble ſervant,

JOHN LOCKE.

Mr. LOCKE *to Mr.* MOLYNEUX.

SIR, *London,* 12 *Sept.* 1696.

COuld the painter have made a picture of me, capable of your converſation, I ſhould have ſat to him with more delight than ever I did any thing in my life. The honour you do me, in giving me thus a place in your houſe, I look upon as the effect of having a place already in your eſteem and affection; and that made me more eaſily ſubmit to what methought looked too much like vanity in me. Painting was deſign'd to repreſent the gods, or the great men that ſtood next to them. But friendſhip, I ſee, takes no meaſure of any thing, but by itſelf; and where it is great and high,

will

will make its object so, and raise it above its level. This is that which has deceived you into my picture, and made you put so great a complement upon me; and I do not know what you will find to justifie your self to those who shall see it in your possession. You may indeed tell them, the original is as much yours as the picture; but this will be no great boast, when the man is not more considerable than his shadow. When I looked upon it, after it was done, methought it had not that countenance I ought to accost you with. I know not whether the secret displeasure I felt, whilst I was sitting, from the consideration that the going of my picture brought us no nearer together, made me look grave: But this I must own, that it was not without regret, that I remember'd that this counterfeit would be before me with the man that I so much desired to be with, and could not tell him how much I long'd to put my self into his hands, and to have him in my arms. One thing pray let it mind you of, and when you look on it at any time, pray believe, that the colours of that face on the cloath, are more fading and changeable than those thoughts which will always represent you to my mind, as the most valuable person in the world, whose face I do not know, and one whose company is so desirable to me,

me, that I ſhall not be happy till I do.

Though I know how little ſervice I am able to do, yet my conſcience will never reproach me for not wiſhing well to my country, by which I mean *Engliſhmen* and their intereſt every where. There has been, of late years, a manufacture of linnen carried on in *Ireland*, if I miſtake not; I would be glad to learn from you the condition it is in; and, if it thrives not, what are the rubs and hindrances that ſtop it. I ſuppoſe you have land very proper to produce flax and hemp, why could not there be enough, eſpecially of the latter, produced there to ſupply his Majeſty's navy? I would be obliged by your thoughts about it, and how it might be brought about. I have heard there is a law requiring a certain quantity of hemp to be ſown every year: if it be ſo, how comes it to be neglected? I know you have the ſame publick aims for the good of your country that I have, and therefore, without any apology, I take this liberty with you. I received an account of your health, and your remembrance of me, not long ſince, by Mr. *Howard*, for which I return you my thanks. I troubled you with a long letter about the beginning of the laſt month, and am, SIR,

Your moſt affectionate, and
moſt humble ſervant,

M J. LOCKE.

Mr. MOLYNEUX *to Mr.* LOCKE.

Honoured Sir, *Dublin, Sept.* 26. 1696.

I Have now before me two of yours, one of *August* the 4th. and t'other of the 12th. instant. I had sooner answer'd the former, but that I waited to give you an account of the farther progress of the translation, which Mr. *Burridge* faithfully promised me; and I lately understand from him, that he has gone through the three first chapters of the first book. I must confess, his avocations are many, and therefore his progress is not so quick as I could desire. But I am sure he will accomplish it, and that well too; and Mr. *Churchill* has told him that you say, *sat cito si sat bene:* and he is very well pleas'd that you give him time.

I do not wonder that your *Essay* is received in the universities. I should indeed have wonder'd with indignation, at the contrary; *magna est veritas & prævalebit.* We may expect a liberty of philosophizing in the schools; but that your doctrine should be so soon heard out of our pulpits, is what is much more remarkable. He that, even ten years ago, should have preach'd, that *idea dei non est innata,* had certainly drawn on him the character of an atheist; yet now we find Mr. *Bentley* very large upon it, in his

his ſermons at Mr. *Boyle*'s lectures, *ſerm.* 1. *p.* 4. and *ſerm.* 3. *p.* 5. And Mr. *Whiſton*, in his *new theory of the earth*, pag. 128.

Mentioning theſe books minds me to intimate to you, that theſe ingenious authors agree exactly with you, in a paſſage you have in your *Thoughts of Education*, pag. 337. 3 edit. §. 192. *That the phænomenon of gravitation cannot be accounted for by meer matter and motion, but ſeems an immediate law of the divine will ſo ordering it.* And you conclude that ſection thus, *Reſerving to a fitter opportunity, a fuller explication of this hypotheſis, and the application of it, to all the parts of the deluge, and any difficulties can be ſuppoſed in the hiſtory of the flood.* This ſeems to imply, that you have ſome thoughts of writing on that ſubject; it would be a mighty ſatisfaction to me, to know from you the certainty thereof. I ſhould be very glad alſo to hear what the opinion of the ingenious is, concerning Mr. *Whiſton*'s book.

As to the *Reaſonableneſs of Chriſtianity*, I do not find but 'tis very well approved of here, amongſt candid unprejudiced men, that dare ſpeak their thoughts. I'll tell you what a very learned and ingenious prelate ſaid to me on that occaſion: I aſked him whether he had read that book, and how he liked it? he told me, very well;

and that if my friend, Mr. *Locke*, writ it, 'twas the beſt book he ever labour'd at; but, ſays he, if I ſhould be known to think ſo, I ſhould have my lawns torn from my ſhoulders. But he knew my opinion aforehand, and was therefore the freer to commit his ſecret thoughts, in that matter, to me.

I am very ſorry I can give you no better an account of the linen manufactures, of late years ſet up in *Ireland*, than what follows.

About the year 1692. (I think) one Monſ. *Du Pin* came to *Dublin* from *England*, and here, by the king and queen's letter, and patents thereon, he ſet up a royal corporation for carrying on the linen manufacture in *Ireland*. Into this corporation many of the nobility and gentry were admitted, more for their countenance and favour to the project, than for any great help could be expected, either from their purſes or heads to carry on the work. *Du Pin* himſelf was nominated under-governor, and a great buſtle was made about the buſineſs; many meetings were held, and conſiderable ſums advanced to forward the work, and the members promiſed themſelves prodigious gains; and this expectation prevail'd ſo far (by what artifices I cannot tell) as to raiſe the value of each ſhare to 40 or 50 pounds,

tho' but five pounds was paid by each member at firſt, for every ſhare he had. At length artificers began to be ſet at work, and ſome parcels of cloath were made, when on a ſudden there happen'd ſome controverſie between the corporation here in *Ireland*, and ſuch another corporation eſtabliſh'd in *England*, by *London* undertakers, and in which *Du Pin* was alſo a chief member. Much time was ſpent in managing this diſpute, and the work began, in the mean time, to flag, and the price of the ſhares to lower mightily.

But, ſome little time before this controverſy hapned, ſome private gentlemen and merchants, on their own ſtock, without the authority of an incorporating patent, ſet up a linen manufacture at *Drogheda*, which promiſed, and thriv'd very well at firſt; and the corporation of *Dublin* perceiving this, began to quarrel with them alſo, and would never let them alone till they embodyed with them. Theſe quarrels and controverſies (the particulars whereof I can give you no account of, for I was not engaged amongſt them, and I can get no one that was, who can give any tolerable account of them) I ſay they grew ſo high, and *Du Pin* began to play ſuch tricks, that all were diſcouraged, and withdrew as faſt as they could. So that now all is blown

up, and nothing of this kind is carryed on, but by ſuch as out of their own private purſes ſet up looms and bleaching yards. We have many of theſe in many parts of *Ireland*; and, I believe, no country in the world is better adapted for it, eſpecially the *North*. I have as good diaper made by ſome of my tenants nigh *Armagh*, as can come to a table, and all other cloath for houſhold uſes.

As to the law for incouraging the linen manufacture, 'tis this, In the 17th. and 18th. of *Car.* 2. there was an act of parliament made, " Obliging all landlords and tenants " to ſow ſuch a certain proportion of their " holdings with flax, under a great penal- " ty on both, on failure; and impow'ring " the ſheriffs to levy 20 pounds in each of " their reſpective countries, to be diſtribu- " ted at the quarter-ſeſſions, yearly, to the " three perſons who ſhould bring in the " three beſt webs of linen cloath, of ſuch " a length and breadth, 10 *l.* to the firſt, " 6 to the ſecond, and 4 to the third. This, whilſt it laſted, was a great encouragement to the country people, to ſtrive to outdo each other, and it produced excellent cloath all over the kingdom; but then it was but temporary, only for twenty years from paſſing the act, and is now expired. But that part of the act, *ordaining landlords*

landlords and tenants to ſow flax, is perpetual; and I can give no reaſon why 'tis not executed; only this I can ſay, that the tranſgreſſion is ſo univerſal, and the forfeiture thereon to the king, is ſo ſevere, that if it were enquired into, I believe all the eſtates in *Ireland* would be forfeited to his majeſty. So that now the multitude of ſinners is their ſecurity. This ſtatute you will find amongſt the *Iriſh* acts, 17. & 18. *Car.* 2. *chap.* 9.

England, moſt certainly, will never let us thrive by the woollen trade; this is their darling miſtreſs, and they are jealous of any rival. But I ſee not that we interfere with them in the leaſt by the linen trade. So that that is yet left open to us to grow rich by, if it were well eſtabliſhed and managed, but by what means this ſhould be, truly I dare not venture to give my thoughts. There is no country has better land or water for flax and hemp; and I do verily believe, the navy may be provided here with ſayling and cordage cheaper, by far, than in *England*. Our land is cheaper, victuals for workmen is cheaper, and labour is cheaper, together with other neceſſaries for artificers.

I know not in what manner to thank you for the trouble you have been at in ſitting for your picture, on my account. 'Tis a favour of that value, that I acknowledge my

ſelf extremely obliged to you for it; and therefore I could not think that the expreſſions concerning it in your laſt belonged to me, did they come from one leſs ſincere than your ſelf. *Painting*, 'tis true, *was deſigned to repreſent the gods, and the great men that ſtand next them*; and therefore it was, that I deſired your picture. This, Sir, is the real and ſincere thought of

Your moſt obliged,

humble ſervant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr. MOLYNEUX *to Mr.* LOCKE.

SIR, *Dublin, January* 5. 169$\frac{6}{7}$.

'TIs now three months ſince I ventur'd to trouble you with a letter; you may ſee thereby that I have a regard to the publick buſineſs you are engaged in; but I have not been all this while without the ſatisfaction of hearing that you are well; for, as all my friends know, that I have the moſt reſpectful concern for you in the world, ſo they are not wanting, on all opportunities, from t'other ſide the water, to give me the acceptable tidings of your welfare. I

have

have lately received a letter from Mr. *Howard*, that obliges me to make his acknowledgments for the favours he has received from you. This I can hardly do, without complaining of him at the ſame time, for not yet ſending me your picture; but I ſuppoſe, by this time, 'tis on the road hither, and I forgive him; and, with all gratitude imaginable, return you my thanks on his account.

The incloſed piece of natural hiſtory, I am deſired by my brother to preſent to you, with his moſt affectionate humble ſervice. If, upon peruſing it, you think it may deſerve it, you may ſend it by the penny-poſt to the royal ſociety, to fill up an empty page in the tranſactions. There is nothing to recommend it but its being exactly true, and an account of a non-deſcript animal. Formerly I had a conſtant correſpondence with the ſecretary of the ſociety, but of late it has fail'd; and therefore we take the liberty of ſending this through your hands.

I have lately met a book here of Monſ. *Le Clerc*'s, call'd *The Cauſes of Incredulity*, done out of *French*. 'Tis the ſame *Le Clerc* that writes *Ontologia*, and dedicates it to you. I find thereby you are his acquaintance and friend; I ſhould be very glad you would be pleaſed to give me ſome account of that gentleman, and his circumſtances in the world,

world, if you know them. To me he ſeems an impartial and candid enquirer after truth, and to have the true ſpirit of chriſtianity in that his book. The reaſon why I enquire after him, is, becauſe I ſuppoſe him one of the refugees from *France*, and perhaps he may receive ſome encouragement to come into this kingdom. I am,

SIR,

Your moſt affectionate ſervant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr. MOLYNEUX *to Mr.* LOCKE.

SIR, *Dublin, February* 3. 169$\frac{6}{7}$.

AS I had reaſon to rejoyce on the nation's account, when you were firſt put on publick buſineſs, ſo I find, on my own particular, I had cauſe to lament; for ſince that time (to my great concern) your letters have been leſs frequent, and the ſatiſfaction I had in them abundantly diminiſhed. Were I aſſured of the confirm'd ſtate of your health, I could more patiently ſubmit to this; but knowing your ſickly diſpoſition, a months ſilence puts me in pain for you; and I am very uneaſie under the appre-

apprehenſions of any danger that may attend you. Favour me therefore, good Sir, tho' it were but by a line or two, in the crowd of your buſineſs; for that it ſelf would be ſome contentment to me, in the want of thoſe noble philoſophical thoughts which ſometimes you were pleaſed to communicate to me.

And now, Sir, I ſhall beg a favour of you a little out of our common road of correſpondence. We have here lately received the certainty of Mr. *Methwin*'s being declared our Lord Chancellor; and truly, Sir, all moderate and good men, I find, are very well pleaſed at it. I ſuppoſe, by your intereſt and acquaintance with my Lord Keeper of *England*, you have an acquaintance likewiſe with Mr. *Methwin*; and I beg the favour of you to mention me to him as your devoted friend and ſervant. I am ſure, if he knows you rightly, I cannot be repreſented to him under a more advantagious character; and I know this will give me admittance to his graces, which I deſire more as I hear he is a good than a great man; and being one of the maſters in chancery here, 'tis natural to covet the favour of him under whom I am to act.

I have lately met with a book of the Bp. of *Worceſter*'s concerning *the Trinity*. He takes occaſion therein to reflect on ſome things

things in your *Essay*; but truly, I think, with no great strength of reason. However, he being a man of great name, I humbly propose it to you, whether you may not judge it worth your while to take notice of what he says, and give some answer to it, which will be no difficult task. I do not intend hereby, that an answer, on purpose for that end only, should be framed by you, I think it not of that moment; but perhaps you may find some accidental occasion of taking notice thereof, either in the next edition of your *Essay*, or some other discourse you may publish hereafter.

I have not yet received the satisfaction of having your likeness before me, and have therefore lately writ a very discontented letter about it to Mr. *Howard*. A great man here told me, I something resembled you in countenance; could he but assure me of being like you in mind too, 'twould have been the eternal honour and boast of

Your most devoted

humble servant, and

entirely affectionate friend,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

I find

I find, by a book I lately light on, of Mr. *Norris*'s, that Mr. *Masham* and my son agree in one odd circumstance of life, of having both their mothers blind; for my wife lost her sight above twelve years before she dyed, and I find my lady *Masham* is in the same condition.

Mr. LOCKE *to Mr.* MOLYNEUX.

SIR, *Oates, 22. Febr. 169⅞.*

I Fear you will be of an opinion that I take my picture for my self, and think you ought to look no farther, since that is coming to you, or is already with you. Indeed we are shadows much alike, and there is not much difference in our strength and usefulness. But yet I cannot but remember, that I cannot expect my picture should answer your letters to me, pay the acknowledgments I owe you, and excuse a silence as great as if I were nothing but a piece of cloath overlay'd with colours. I could lay a great deal of the blame on business, and a great deal on want of health. Between these two I have had little leisure since I writ to you last. But all that will bear no excuse to my self for being three letters in arrear to a person whom I the willinglyest hear from

of

of any man in the world, and with whom I had rather entertain my ſelf, and paſs my hours in converſation, than with any one that I know. I ſhould take it amiſs if you were not angry with me for not writing to you all this while; for I ſhould ſuſpect you loved me not ſo well as I love you, if you could patiently bear my ſilence. I hope it is your civility makes you not chide me. I promiſe you, I ſhould have grumbled cruelly at you, if you had been half ſo guilty as I have been. But if you are angry a little, pray be not ſo very much, for if you ſhould provoke me any way, I know the firſt ſight of you would allay all my choler immediately; and the joy of hearing you were well, and that you continued your kindneſs to me, would fill my mind, and leave me no other paſſion. For, I tell you truly, that ſince the receipt of your letter in *September* laſt, there has ſcarce a day paſs'd, I am ſure not a poſt, wherein I have not thought of my obligation and debt to you, and reſolved to acknowledge it to you, though ſomething or other has ſtill come between to hinder me. For you would have pityed me to ſee how much of my time was forced from me this winter in the country (where my illneſs confin'd me within doors,) by crowds of letters which were therefore indiſpenſibly to be anſwer'd,

becauſe

because they were from people whom either I knew not, or cared not for, or was not willing to make bold with; and so you, and another friend I have in *Holland*, have been delay'd, and put last, because you are my friends beyond ceremony and formality. And I reserv'd my self for you when I was at leisure, in the ease of thoughts to enjoy. For that you may not think you have been passed over by a peculiar neglect, I mention to you another very good friend of mine, of whom I have now by me a letter, of an ancienter date than the first of your three, yet unanswer'd.

However, you are pleased out of kindness to me, to rejoyce in yours of *September* 26. that my notions have had the good luck to be vented from the pulpit, and particularly by Mr. *Bentley*, yet that matter goes not so clear as you imagine. For a man of no small name, as you know Dr. *S*-— is, has been pleased to declare against my doctrine of no innate ideas, from the pulpit in the *Temple*, and, as I have been told, charged it with little less than atheism. Though the Dr. be a great man, yet that would not much fright me, because I am told, that he is not always obstinate against opinions which he has condemned more publickly, than in an harangue to a sundays auditory. But that 'tis possible he may be firm here,

because

becauſe 'tis alſo ſaid, he never quits his averſion to any tenent he has once declared againſt, 'till change of times bringing change of intereſt, and faſhionable opinions open his eyes and his heart, and then he kindly embraces what before deſerved his averſion and cenſure. My book crept into the world about ſix or ſeven years ago, without any oppoſition, and has ſince paſſed amongſt ſome for uſeful, and, the leaſt favourable, for innocent. But, as it ſeems to me, it is agreed by ſome men that it ſhould no longer do ſo. Something, I know not what, is at laſt ſpyed out in it, that is like to be troubleſome, and therefore it muſt be an ill book, and be treated accordingly. 'Tis not that I know any thing in particular, but ſome things that have hapned at the ſame time together, ſeem to me to ſuggeſt this: what it will produce, time will ſhew. But, as you ſay in that kind letter, *magna eſt veritas & prevalebit*; that keeps me at perfect eaſe in this, and whatever I write; for as ſoon as I ſhall diſcover it not to be truth, my hand ſhall be the forwardeſt to throw it in the fire.

You deſire to know what the opinion of the ingenious is, concerning Mr. *Whiſton*'s book. I have not heard any one of my acquaintance ſpeak of it, but with great commendation, as I think it deſerves. And truly,

truly, I think he is more to be admired, that he has lay'd down an hypothesis, whereby he has explain'd so many wonderful, and, before, unexplicable things in the great changes of this globe, than that some of them should not go easily down with some men, when the whole was entirely new to all. He is one of those sort of writers that I always fancy should be most esteem'd and encourag'd. I am always for the builders who bring some addition to our knowledge, or, at least, some new thing to our thoughts. The finders of faults, the confuters and pullers down, do but only erect a barren and useless triumph upon human ignorance, but advance us nothing in the acquisition of truth. Of all the motto's I ever met with, this, writ over a waterwork at *Cleve*, best pleased me, *Natura omnes fecit judices paucos artifices.*

I thank you for the account you gave me of your linen manufacture. Private knavery, I perceive, does there as well as here destroy all publick good works, and forbid the hope of any advantages by them, where nature plentifully offers what industry would improve, were it but rightly directed, and duly cherished. The corruption of the age gives me so ill a prospect of any success in designs of this kind, never so well laid, that I am not sorry my ill health

gives me ſo juſt a reaſon to deſire to be eaſed of the employment I am in.

Yours of the 5th. of *January*, which brought with it that curious and exact deſcription of that non-deſcript animal, found me here under the confinement of my ill lungs; but knowing buſineſs of ſeveral kinds would make it neceſſary for me to go to *London* as ſoon as poſſible, I thought it better to carry it thither my ſelf, than ſend it at random to the royal ſociety. Accordingly when I went up to town, about a fortnight ſince, I ſhew'd it Dr. *Sloane*, and put it into his hands to be communicated to the royal ſociety; which he willingly undertook; and, I promiſe my ſelf it will be publiſhed in their next tranſactions. Dr. *Sloane* is a very ingenious man, and a very good friend of mine; and, upon my telling him that your correſpondence with the ſecretary of the ſociety had been of late interrupted, he readily told me, that, if you pleaſed, he would take it up, and be very glad if you would allow him the honour of a conſtant correſpondence with you.

You ſhew your charitable and generous temper, in what you ſay concerning a friend of mine in *Holland*, who is truly all that you think of him. He is marryed there, and has ſome kind of ſettlement; but I could be glad if you in *Ireland*, or I here (tho'

of

of the latter ſay nothing to others) could get him a prebendary of 100 or 200*l.* *per annum* to bring him over into our *church*, and to give him eaſe, and a ſure retreat to write in, where, I think, he might be of great uſe to the chriſtian world. If you could do this, you would offer him a temptation would ſettle him amongſt us; if you think you cannot, I am never the leſs obliged to you, for offering to one, whom you take to be a friend of mine, what you are able. If he ſhould miſs the effect, yet I have ſtill the obligation to you.

When yours of the 3d. inſtant met me in *London*, when I was there lately, I was rejoyced at my journey, though I was uneaſie in town, becauſe I thought my being there might give me an opportunity to do you ſome little ſervice, or at leaſt ſhew you my willingneſs to do it. To that purpoſe I went twice or thrice to wait upon Mr. *Methwin*, though he be a perſon in whoſe company I remember not that I was ever but once in my life. I miſſed him, by good luck, both times, and my diſtemper encreaſed ſo faſt upon me, that though I went to *London* with an intention to make ſome ſtay there, yet I was forced away in eight days, and had not an opportunity to ſee Mr. *Methwin* at all. You will, perhaps, wonder to hear me call my miſſing of him *good luck*, but

ſo I muſt always call that which any way favours my deſign of ſerving you, as this did. For hereupon I applyed my ſelf to a friend of mine who has an intereſt in him, and one to whom your worth and friendſhip to me is not unknown, who readily undertook all I deſired on your behalf. And I promiſe my ſelf, from thence, that you will find Mr. *Methwin* will be as deſirous of your acquaintance as you are of his.

You will, in a little time, ſee that I have obey'd, or rather anticipated a command of yours, towards the latter end of your laſt letter. What ſentiments I have of the uſage I have received from the perſon you there mention, I ſhall ſhortly more at large acquaint you. What he ſays, is, as you obſerve, not of that moment much to need an anſwer; but the ſlye deſign of it I think neceſſary to oppoſe; for I cannot allow any one's great name a right to uſe me ill. All fair contenders for the opinions they have, I like mightily; but there are ſo few that have opinions, or at leaſt ſeem, by their way of defending them, to be really perſuaded of the opinions they profeſs, that I am apt to think there is in the world a great deal more ſcepticiſm, or at leaſt want of concern for truth, than is imagin'd. When I was in town I had the happineſs to ſee Mr. *Burridge*; he is, he ſays,

ſays, ſpeedily returning to you, where I hope his book, which is received with great applauſe, will procure him ſomething more ſolid than the name it has got him here; which I look upon as a good fore-runner of greater things to come. He ſpoke ſomething of his intention to ſet about my book, but that I muſt leave to you and him. There is lately fallen into my hand a paper of Monſ. *L*——, writ to a gentleman here in *England*, concerning ſeveral things in my *Eſſay*. I was told, when I was in *London*, that he had lately ordered his correſpondent to communicate them to me, and ſomething elſe he has ſince writ hither. He treats me all along with great civility, and more complement than I can deſerve. And being, as he is, a very great man, 'tis not for me to ſay there appears to me no great weight in the exceptions he makes to ſome paſſages in my book, but his great name and knowledge in all parts of learning, ought to make me think, that a man of his parts ſays nothing but what has great weight in it; only I ſuſpect he has, in ſome places, a little miſtaken my ſenſe, which is eaſie for a ſtranger, who has (as I think) learn'd *engliſh* out of *England*. The ſervant I have now cannot copy *french*, or elſe you ſhould ſee what he ſays: When I have all his papers you ſhall hear farther

from me. I repine as often as I think of the diſtance between this and *Dublin*.

I read that paſſage of your letter to my lady *Maſham* which concerned her ſight; ſhe bid me tell you, That ſhe hopes to ſee you here this ſummer. You will, poſſibly, wonder at the miracle, but that you muſt find in Mr. *Norris*'s book. She has, 'tis true, but weak eyes, which Mr. *Norris*, for reaſons he knew beſt, was reſolv'd to make blind ones. And having fitted his epiſtle to that ſuppoſition, could not be hinder'd from publiſhing it ſo; though my lady, to prevent it, writ him word that ſhe was not blind, and hoped ſhe never ſhould be. 'Tis a ſtrange power, you ſee, we authors take to our ſelves; but there is nothing more ordinary, than for us to make whomſoever we will blind, and give them out to the world for ſuch as boldly as *Bayard* himſelf. But 'tis time to ſpare you and your eyes. I am, with the utmoſt reſpect and ſincerity,

SIR,

Your moſt humble, and

moſt affectionate ſervant,

JOHN LOCKE.

Mr.

Mr. Molyneux *to Mr.* Locke.

Dublin, March 16. 169$\frac{6}{7}$.

I Muſt confeſs, dear Sir, I have not lately (if ever in my life) been under a greater concern than at your long ſilence. Sometimes I was angry with my ſelf, but I could not well tell why; and then I was apt to blame you, but I could leſs tell why. As your ſilence continued, my diſtraction encreaſed; till, at laſt, I was happily relieved by yours of the 22d. of *February*, which came not to my hands till the 10th. inſtant. I then perceived I was to charge ſome part of my troubled time to the conveyance of your letter, which was almoſt three weeks on its way hither. And that which added to my concern, was the want of even your ſhadow before me, for to this moment I have not received that, which will be apt, on its appearance, to make me an idolater. Mr. *Howard* writes me word, he has ſent it from *London* above five weeks ago; but I hear nothing of it from our correſpondent to whom 'tis conſigned in *Cheſter*. However, ſeeing I know the ſubſtance to be in ſafety, and well, I can bear the hazard of the ſhadow with ſome patience, and doubt not but my expectation will be ſatisfyed in due time.

Both *Whiſton* and *Bentley* are poſitive againſt the idea of God being innate; and I had rather rely on them (if I would rely on any man) than on Dr. *S*—. 'Tis true, the latter has a great name; but that, I am ſure, weighs not with you or me. Beſides, you rightly obſerve, the Dr. is no obſtinate heretick, but may veer about when another opinion comes in faſhion; for ſome men alter their notions as they do their cloaths, in complyance to the mode. I have heard of a maſter of the *Temple*, who, during the ſiege of *Limerick*, writ over hither to a certain prelate, to be ſure to let him know, by the firſt opportunity, whenever it came to be ſurrender'd, which was done accordingly; and immediately the good Dr.'s eyes were opened, and he plainly ſaw the oaths to K. *William* and Q. *Mary* were not only expedient but lawful, and our duty. A good roaring train of artillery is not only the *ratio ultima regum*, but of other men beſides.

I fancy I pretty well gueſs what it is that ſome men find miſchievous in your *Eſſay*: 'Tis opening the eyes of the ignorant, and rectifying the methods of reaſoning, which perhaps may undermine ſome received errors, and ſo abridge the empire of darkneſs; wherein, tho' the ſubjects wander deplorably, yet the rulers have their profit and advantage.

advantage. But 'tis ridiculous, in any man, to ſay in general your book is dangerous; let any fair contender for truth, ſit down and ſhew wherein 'tis erroneous. Dangerous is a word of an uncertain ſignification, every one uſes it in his own ſenſe. A *papiſt* ſhall ſay 'tis dangerous, becauſe, perhaps, it agrees not ſo well with tranſubſtantiation, and a *lutheran*, becauſe his conſubſtantiation is in hazard, but neither conſider whether tranſubſtantiation or conſubſtantiation be true or falſe, but taking it for granted that they are true, or at leaſt gainful, whatever hits not with it, or is againſt it, muſt be dangerous.

I am extremely obliged to you for your introducing a correſpondence between Dr. *Sloane* and me, and it would be the greateſt ſatisfaction imaginable to me, could I but promiſe my ſelf materials, in this place, fit to ſupport it. However, I ſhall ſoon begin it, by ſending him an account of the largeſt quadruped that moves on the earth, except the elephant, with which this country has anciently been plentifully ſtock'd, but are now quite periſhed from amongſt us, and is not to be found, for ought as I can learn, any where at preſent but about *New England*, *Virginia*, &c.

And now I come to that part of your letter relating to Monſ. *Le Clerc*, which

grieves me every time I think on't. There are ſo many difficulties, in what you propoſe concerning him, that I know not how they will be ſurmounted. The clergy here have given that learned, pious, and candid man, a name that will frighten any biſhop from ſerving him, though otherways inclinable enough in his own breaſt. I know but two or three that are in any poſt in the *church* capable to help him, on whom I could rely to do it; but, at the ſame time, I know them to be ſuch cautious wary men, and ſo fearful of the cenſure of the reſt of the tribe, that they would hardly be brought to it. I take Monſ. *Le Clerc* to be one of the greateſt ſcholars in *Europe*; I look on him as one of the moſt judicious, pious, and ſincere chriſtians that has appear'd publickly; and it would be an infinite honour to us to have him amongſt us; but, I fear, an eccleſiaſtical preferment will be very difficult to be obtain'd for him. And indeed, when I troubled you to give me ſome account of him, it was in proſpect of bringing him into my own family, could his circumſtances have allow'd it; for I took him to be a ſingle man, and one of the refugees in *Holland*, and wholly unprovided for. On his own account I am heartily glad he has any ſettlement there, but, for my own ſake, I could wiſh he were in other circumſtan-

ces. But, notwithſtanding theſe difficulties, I have ventur'd to break this matter to a clergy-man here in a conſiderable poſt Dr. Dean of , a gentleman who is happy in your acquaintance, and is a perſon of an extenſive charity, and great candor. He reliſh'd the thing extremely, but moved the forementioned difficulties, and raiſed ſome farther ſcruples concerning Mr. *Le Clerc*'s ordination; for ordain'd he muſt neceſſarily be, to capacitate him for an eccleſiaſtical preferment; and he queſtion'd whether he would ſubmit to thoſe oaths, and ſubſcription of aſſent and conſent that are requiſite thereto. But he promiſed me, that when he attends the King this ſummer into *Holland*, as his chaplain, he will wait on Monſ. *Le Clerc* at *Amſterdam*, and diſcourſe with him farther about this matter. This gentleman is the likelieſt eccleſiaſtick in *Ireland* to effect this buſineſs, for he is a riſing man in the *church*, and tho' he be very zealous in his own principles, yet 'tis with the greateſt charity and deference to others; which, I think, is the true ſpirit of chriſtianity. I have not mention'd you in the leaſt to him in all this matter.

I am extremely obliged to you for the good offices you have done me to Mr. *Methwin* our Lord Chancellor. I promiſe my

ſelf

ſelf a great deal of ſatisfaction in the honour of his lordſhip's acquaintance. And, I could wiſh, if it were conſiſtent with your convenience, that you would let me know the perſon you deſired to mention my name to his Lordſhip.

I am heartily glad to underſtand that you have taken notice of what the Bp. of *Worceſter* ſays, relating to your book. I have been in diſcourſe here, with an ingenious man, upon what the biſhop alledges; and the gentleman obſerved, that the Bp. does not ſo directly object againſt your notions as erroneous, but as miſuſed by others, and particularly by the author of *Chriſtianity not myſterious*; but, I think, this is no very juſt obſervation. The Bp. directly oppoſes your doctrine, tho', 'tis true, he does it on the occaſion of the foreſaid book. I am told the author of that diſcourſe is of this country, and that his name is *Toland*, but he is a ſtranger in theſe parts; I believe, if he belongs to this kingdom, he has been a good while out of it, for I have not heard of any ſuch remarkable man amongſt us.

I ſhould be very glad to ſee Monſ. *L*---'s paper concerning your *Eſſay*. He is certainly an extraordinary perſon, eſpecially in mathematicks; but really, to ſpeak freely of him, in relation to what he may have to

ſay

ſay to you, I do not expect any great matters from him; for methinks (with all deference to his great name) he has given the world no extraordinary ſamples of his thoughts this way, as appears by two diſcourſes he has printed, both in the *acta erudit. Lipſiæ*, the firſt *Anno* 1694. pag. 110. *De primæ philoſophiæ emendatione, &c.* the other *anno* 1695. pag. 145. *Specimen dynamicum*, which truly to me is, in many places, unintelligible; but that may be my defect, and not his.

I beg you would excuſe me to my lady *Maſham*, for the error I committed relating to her Ladyſhip. I ever look'd on Mr. *Norris* as an *obſcure enthuſiaſtick man*, but I could not think he would knowingly impoſe on the world ſo notorious a falſity in matter of fact. I wiſh authors would take more pains to open than to ſhut mens eyes, and then we ſhould have more ſucceſs in the diſcoveries of truth.—But I have almoſt outrun my paper. I am,

Ever honour'd Sir,

Your moſt affectionate, and

moſt obliged humble ſervant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr.

Mr. MOLYNEUX *to Mr.* LOCKE.

Honoured Sir, *Dublin, April 6.* 1697.

IN my laſt to you of *March* 16. there was a paſſage relating to the author of *Chriſtianity not myſterious.* I did not then think that he was ſo near me, as within the bounds of this city; but I find ſince that he is come over hither, and have had the favour of a viſit from him. I now underſtand (as I intimated to you) that he was born in this country; but that he has been a great while abroad, and his education was, for ſome time, under the great *Le Clerc.* But that for which I can never honour him too much, is his acquaintance and friendſhip to you, and the reſpect, which, on all occaſions, he expreſſes for you. I propoſe a great deal of ſatisfaction in his converſation; I take him to be a candid free thinker, and a good ſcholar. But there is a violent ſort of ſpirit that reigns here, which begins already to ſhew it ſelf againſt him; and, I believe, will increaſe daily, for I find the clergy alarm'd to a mighty degree againſt him. And laſt ſunday he had his welcome to this city, by hearing himſelf harangued againſt, out of the pulpit, by a prelate of this country.

I have at laſt received my moſt eſteem'd friend's

friend's picture; I muſt now make my grateful acknowledgements to you for the many idle hours you ſpent in ſitting for it, to gratifie my deſire. I never look upon it, but with the greateſt veneration. But tho' the artiſt has ſhewn extraordinary ſkill at his pencil, yet now I have obtain'd ſome part of my deſire, the greateſt remains unſatisfy'd; and ſeeing he could not make it ſpeak and converſe with me, I am ſtill at a loſs. But I find you are reſolved, in ſome meaſure, to ſupply even that too, by the kind preſents you ſend me of your thoughts, both in your letters, and in your books, as you publiſh them. Mr. *Churchill* tells me, I am obliged to you for one or two of this kind, that you have been pleaſed to favour me with; they are not yet come to hand, but I return you my heartyeſt thanks for them. I long, indeed, to ſee your anſwer to the Bp. of *Worceſter*; but for *Edwards*, I think him ſuch a poor wretch, he deſerves no notice. I am,

Moſt worthy Sir,

Your affectionate humble ſervant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr.

Mr. LOCKE *to Mr.* MOLYNEUX.

Dear Sir, *Oates*, 10 *April*. 1697.

THough I do not ſuſpect that you will think me careleſs or cold in that ſmall buſineſs you deſired of me, and ſo left it in negligent hands, give me leave to ſend you a tranſcript of a paſſage in my friend's letter, which I received laſt poſt.

" 'Tis a great while ſince that Mr. *P*——
" undertook to tell you that I had ſpoken
" to Mr. *Methwin* about Mr. *Molyneux*,
" and that he received your recommenda-
" tion very civilly, and anſwer'd, He ſhould
" always have a great regard for any body
" you thought worthy of your eſteem;
" and you gave ſo advantageous a chara-
" cter of Mr. *Molyneux*, that he ſhould co-
" vet his acquaintance, and therefore he
" muſt deſire the favour of you to recom-
" mend him to Mr. *Molyneux*.

Thus, my friend, whoſe words, though in them there be ſomething of complement to my ſelf, I repeat to you juſt as they are in his letter, that you may ſee he had the ſame ſucceſs I promiſed you in my laſt.

In obedience to your commands, I herewith ſend you a copy of Mr. *L*———'s paper. The laſt paragraph, which you will find writ in my hand, is a tranſcript of part of

of a letter, writ lately to his correſpondent here, one Mr. *Burnet*, who ſent it me lately, with a copy of Mr. *L*———'s paper. Mr. *Burnet* has had it this year or two, but never communicated it to me till about a fortnight agone. Indeed Mr. *Cunningham* procured me a ſight of it laſt ſummer, and he and I read it paragraph by paragraph over together, and he confeſſed to me, that ſome parts of it he did not underſtand; and I ſhew'd him in others, that Mr. *L*———'s opinion would not hold, who was perfectly of my mind. I mention Mr. *Cunningham* to you, in the caſe, becauſe I think him an extraordinary man of parts and learning, and he is one that is known to Mr. *L*———. To anſwer your freedom with the like, I muſt confeſs to you, that Mr. *L*———'s great name had raiſed in me an expectation which the ſight of his paper did not anſwer, nor that diſcourſe of his in the *acta eruditorum*, which he quotes, and I have ſince read, and had juſt the ſame thoughts of it, when I read it, as I find you have. From whence I only draw this inference, That even great parts will not maſter any ſubject without great thinking, and even the largeſt minds have but narrow ſwallows. Upon this occaſion I cannot but again regret the loſs of your company and aſſiſtance, by this great diſtance.

I have lately got a little leiſure to think of ſome additions to my book, againſt the next edition, and within theſe few days have fallen upon a ſubject that I know not how far it will lead me. I have written ſeveral pages on it, but the matter, the farther I go, opens the more upon me, and I cannot yet get ſight of any end of it. The title of the chapter will be *Of the Conduct of the Underſtanding*, which, if I ſhall purſue, as far as I imagine it will reach, and as it deſerves, will, I conclude, make the largeſt chapter of my *Eſſay*. 'Tis well for you you are not near me, I ſhould be always peſtering you with my notions, and papers, and reveries. It would be a great happineſs to have a man of thought to lay them before, and a friend that would deal candidly and freely.

I hope, e'er this, you and your brother have received printed copies of what the Dr. communicated to the royal ſociety. I preſume it is publiſh'd before this time, though I have not ſeen it, for Dr. *Sloan* writ me word, ſome time ſince, that it would be ſpeedily, and told me he would ſend it to you. And, if Mr. *Churchill* has taken that care he promiſed me, I hope you have alſo received my *letter to the* Bp. of *Worceſter*, and that I ſhall ſoon receive your thoughts of it.

The

The buſineſs you propoſed to Dr. *S*——, is generouſly deſigned, and well managed, and I very much wiſh it ſucceſs. But will not Dr. *S*—— be perſuaded to communicate to the world the obſervations he made in *Turky?* The diſcourſe I had with him ſatiſfies me they well deſerve not to be loſt, as all papers laid up in a ſtudy are. Methinks you ſhould prevail with him to oblige his country.

Though my paper be done, yet I cannot cloſe my letter till I have made ſome acknowledgments to you for the many great marks you give me of a ſincere affection, and an eſteem extremely above what I can deſerve, in yours of the 16th. of *March*. Such a friend, procured me by my *Eſſay*, makes me more than amends for the many adverſaries it has raiſed me. But, I think, no body will be able to find any thing miſchievous in it, but what you ſay, which I ſuſpect, troubles ſome men; and I am not ſorry for it, nor like my book the worſe. He that follows truth impartially ſeldom pleaſes any ſet of men; and I know not how a great many of thoſe who pretend to be ſpreaders of light, and teachers of truth, would yet have men depend upon them for it, and take it rather upon their words than their own knowledge, juſt cook'd and ſeaſon'd as they think fit. But 'tis time to

releaſe you, after ſo long a trouble. I am perfectly,

Dear Sir,

Your moſt humble, and

moſt faithful ſervant,

JOHN LOCKE.

Réflexions de Mr. L------ ſur *l'Eſſay de l'Entendement Humain* de Monſieur LOCKE.

JE trouve tant de marques d'une penetration peu ordinaire dans ce que Monſ. Locke *nous a donné ſur l'entendement de l'homme, & ſur l'education, & je juge la matiere ſi importante que j'ay cru ne pas mal employer le temps que je donnerois à une lecture ſi profitable; d'autant que j'ay fort medité moi même ſur ce qui regarde les fondemens de nos connoiſſances. C'eſt ce qui ma fait mettre ſur cette feuille quelques unes des remarques qui me ſont venues en liſant ſon* Eſſay de l'Entendement. *De toutes les recherches il n'y a point de plus importante, puis que c'eſt la clef de toutes les autres.*

Le premier livre regarde principalement les principes qu'on dit eſtre nés avec nous. Monſ. Locke

Locke *ne les admet pas, non plus que les idées innées. Il a eu ſans doute de grandes raiſons de s'oppoſer en cela aux prejugés ordinaires, car on abuſe extremément du nom d'*idees, *& de* principes. *Les philoſophes vulgaires ſe font des principes à leur phantaſie, & les* Carteſiens, *qui font profeſſion de plus d'exactitude, ne laiſſent pas de faire leur retrenchement des idees pretendües, de l'etendüe, de la matiere, & de l'ame; voulant s'exempter par là de la neceſſité de prouver ce qu'ils avancent; ſous pretexte que ceux qui mediteront les idées, y trouverent la meme choſe qu'eux, c'eſt a dire, que ceux qui s'accoutumeront à leur jargon & à leur maniere de penſer, auront les memes preventions, ce qui eſt très veritable. Mon opinion eſt donc qu'on ne doit rien prendre pour principe primitif, ſi non les experiences & l'axiome de l'identicité ou (ce qui eſt la même choſe) de la contradiction, qui eſt primitif, puis qu'autrement il n'y auroit point de difference entre la verité & la fauſſeté; & toutes les recherches ceſſeroient d'abord, s'il eſtoit indifferent de dire oüi ou non. On ne ſçauroit donc s'empecher de ſuppoſer ce principe, dès qu'on veut raiſonner. Toutes les autres verités ſont prouvables, & j'eſtime extremement la methode d'*Euclide *qui ſans s'arreter a ce qu'on croiroit eſtre aſſez prouvé par les pretendües idées a demontré (par exemple) que dans une triangle*

un côté est tousjours moindre que les deux autres ensemble. Cependant Euclide *a eu raison de prendre quelques axiomes pour accordés, non pas comme s'ils estoient veritablement primitifs & indemonstrables, mais par ce qu'il se seroit trop arretté, s'il n'avoit voulu venir aux conclusions qu'après une discussion exacte des principes: Ainsi il a jugé à propos de se contenter d'avoir poussé les preuves jusqu'à ce petit nombre de propositions, en sorte qu'on peut dire que si elles sont vraies, tout ce qu'il dit l'est aussi. Il a laissé à d'autres le soin de demontrer ces principes memes qui d'ailleurs sont deja justifiés par les experiences. Mais c'est dequoy on ne se contente point en ces matieres: c'est pourquoi* Appollonius, Proclus, *& autres, ont pris la peine de demontrer quelques uns des axiomes d'*Euclide. *Cette maniere doit étre imitée des philosophes, pour venir enfin à quelques establissemens, quand ils ne seroient que provisionels; de la maniere que je viens de dire. Quant aux idées j'en ay donné quelque eclaircissement dans un petit Ecrit imprimé dans les* Actes des Sçavans *de* Leipzig *au mois de novembre,* 1684. *pag.* 537. *qui est intitulé* Meditationes de cognitione, veritate, & ideis, *& j'aurois souhaité que Mr.* Locke *l'eût veu & examiné, car je suis des plus dociles, & rien n'est plus propre à avancer nos pensées que les considerations & les remarques des personnes de me-*

rite, lors qu'elles ſont faites avec attention & avec ſincerité. Je diray ſeulement ici, que les idées vrayes *ou* reelles *ſont celles dont on eſt aſſeuré que l'execution eſt poſſible, les autres ſont douteuſes ou (en cas de preuve de l'impoſſibilité) chimeriques. Or la poſſibilité des idées ſe prouve tant* à priori *par des demonſtrations, en ſe ſervant de la poſſibilité d'autres idées plus ſimples, qu'à* poſteriori *par les experiences, car ce qui eſt ne ſçauroit manque d'eſtre poſſiblé. Mais les idées primitives ſont celle dont la poſſibilité eſt indemonſtrable, & qui en effet ne ſont autre choſe que les attributs de dieu. Pour ce qui eſt de la queſtion,* s'il y a des idées & des verités crées avec nous, *Je ne trouve point abſolument neceſſaire pour les commencemens, ni pour la pratique de l'art de penſer, de la decider: ſoit qu'elles nous viennent toutes de dehors, ou qu'elles viennent de nous, on raiſonnera juſte pourveu qu'on garde ce que j'ay dit cy deſſus & qu'on procede avec ordre & ſans prevention. La queſtion de* l'origine de nos idées & de nos maximes *n'eſt pas préliminaire en philoſophie, & il faut avoir fait de grands progrés pour la bien reſoudre. Je crois cependant pouvoir dire que nos idées (meme celles de choſes ſenſibles) viennent de nôtre propre fonds, dont on pourra mieux juger par ce que j'ay publié touchant la nature & la communication des ſubſtances & ce qu'on appelle* l'union de l'ame avec le

corps. *Car j'ay trouvé que ces choses n'avoient pas esté bien prises. Je ne suis nullement pour la* tabula rasa *d'*Aristote, *& il y a quelque chose de solide dans ce que* Platon *appelloit* la reminiscence. *Il y a meme quelque chose de plus, car nous n'avons pas seulement une* reminiscence *de toutes nos pensées passées, mais encore un* pressentiment *de toutes nos pensées futures. Il est vray que c'est confusement & sans les distinguer, à peu prés comme lorsque j'entends le bruit de la mer; j'entends celuy de toutes les vagues en particulier qui composent le bruit total; quoique ce soit sans discerner une vague de l'autre: Et il est vray dans un certain sens que j'ay expliqué, que non seulement nos idées, mais encore nos sentimens naissent de nostre propre fonds & que l'ame est plus independante qu'on ne pense, quoi qu'il soit toujours vrai que rien ne se passe en elle qui ne soit determiné.*

Dans le livre ii. *qui vient au detail des idées, j'avoue que les raisons de Mons.* Locke *pour prouver que* l'ame est quelquefois sans penser à rien, *ne me paroissent pas convainquantes; si ce n'est qu'il donne le nom de* penseés *aux seules perceptions assés notables pour estre distinguées & retenues. Je tiens que l'ame & meme le corps n'est jamais sans action, & que l'ame n'est jamais sans quelque perception. Même en dormant on a*

quelque

quelque ſentimens confus & ſombre du lieu où l'on eſt & d'autres choſes. Mais quand l'experience ne le confirmeroit pas je crois qu'il y en a demonſtration. C'eſt à peu prés comme on ne ſçauroit prouver abſolument par les experiences s'il n'y a point de vuide dans l'eſpace & s'il n'y a point de repos dans la matiere. Et cependant ces ſortes de queſtions me paroiſſent decidées demonſtrativement, auſſi bien qu'à Mr. Locke. *Je demeure d'accord de la difference qu'il met avec beaucoup de raiſon entre la* matiere *&* l'eſpace. *Mais pour ce qui eſt du* viude *pluſieurs perſonnes habiles l'ont crû. Monſieur* Locke *eſt de ce nombre, j'en étois preſque perſuadé moy même, mais j'en ſuis revenu depuis long temps. Et l'incomparable Monſieur* Huygens *qui étoit auſſi pour le vuide, & pour les atomes, commenca à faire reflexion ſur mes raiſons, comme ſes lettres le peuvent temoigner. La preuve du vuide priſe du mouvement, dont Mr.* Locke *ſe ſert, ſuppoſe que le corps eſt originairement* dur, *& qu'il eſt compoſé d'un certain nombre de parties inflexibles. Car en ce cas il ſeroit vray, quelque nombre fini d'atomes, qu'on pouroit prendre, que le mouvement ne ſauroit avoir lieu ſans vuide; mais toutes les parties de la matiere ſont diviſibles & pliables. Il y a encore quelques autres choſes dans ce ſecond livre qui m'arretent, par exemple lors qu'il eſt dit chap.* 17. *que* l'in-

finité

finité ne se doit attribuer qu'à l'espace, au tems, & aux nombres. *Je crois avec Mr.* Locke *qu'à proprement parler on peut dire qu'il n'y a point d'espace, de temps, ni de nombre, qui soit infini, mais qu'il est seulement vrai que pour grand que soit un espace, ou temps, ou bien un nombre, il y a toûjours un autre plus grand que luy sans fin, & qu'ainsi le veritable* infini *ne se trouve point dans un tout composé de parties. Cependant il ne laisse pas de se trouver ailleurs, sçavoir dans* l'absolu, *qui est sans parties & qui a influence sur les choses composées, parce qu'elles resultent de la limitation de l'absolu. Donc* l'infini positif *n'étant autre chose que l'absolu, on peut dire qu'il y a en ce sens un idée positive de l'infini & qu'elle est anterieure à celle du fini. Au reste en rejettant un infini composé on ne nie point ce que les Geometres demonstrent de* seriebus infinitis, *& particulierement l'excellent Mr.* Newton. *Quant à ce qui est dit chap.* 30. de ideis adæquatis *il est permis de donner aux termes la signification qu'on trouve à propos. Cependant sans blamer le sens de Mr.* Locke *je mets un degrê dans les idées selon lequel j'appelle* adequate *celle où il n'y a plus rien à expliquer. Or toutes les idées des qualités sensibles, comme de la lumiere, couleur, chaleur, n'estant point de cette nature, je ne les compte point parmis les* adequates, *aussi n'est ce point par elles*

memes

memes, ni a priori, *mais par l'experience que nous en ſçavons la realité, ou la poſſibilité.*

Il y a encore bien de bonnes choſes dans le livre iii. *où il eſt traité des mots ou termes. Il eſt très vray qu'on ne ſçauroit tout definir, & que les qualités ſenſibles n'ont point de* definition nominale, *& on les peut appeller primitives en ce ſens là. Mais elles ne laiſſent pas de pouvoir recevoir une* definition réelle. *J'ay montré la difference de ces deux ſortes de definitions dans la Meditation citée cy deſſus. La* definition nominale *explique le nom par les marques de la choſes; mais la* definition reelle *fait connoitre* à priori *la poſſibilité du defini. Au reſte j'applaudis fort à la doctrine de Monſ.* Locke *touchant la demonſtrabilité des verités morales.*

Le iv. ou dernier livre, où il s'agit de la connoiſſance de la verité, montre l'uſage de ce qui vient d'eſtre dit. J'y trouve (auſſi bien que dans les livres precedens) une infinite de belles reflexions. De faire là deſſus les remarques convenables, ce ſeroit faire un livre auſſi grand que l'ouvrage même. Il me ſemble que les axiomes y ſont un peu moins conſiderés qu'ils ne meritent de l'eſtre. C'eſt apparement parce qu'excepté ceux des Mathematiciens on n'en trouve guere ordinairement, qui ſoient importans & ſolides: j'ay tache de remédier à ce defaut. Je ne méprise pas les propoſitions identiques, & j'ay trouvé qu'elles

qu'elles ont un grand usage même dans l'analyse. Il est très vray, que nous connoissons nôtre existence par une intuition immediate & celle de Dieu par demonstration, & qu'une masse de matiere, dont les parties sont sans perception, ne sçauroit faire un tout qui pense. Je ne meprise point l'argument inventé, il y a quelques siecles, par Anselme, *qui prouve que l'être parfait doit exister; quoique je trouve qu'il manque quelque chose à cet argument, parce qu'il suppose que l'estre parfait est possible. Car si ce seul point se démonstre encore, la démonstration toute entiere sera entierement achevie. Quant à la connoissance des autres choses il est fort bien dit, que la seule experience ne suffit pas pour avancer assez en physique. Un esprit penetrant tirera plus de consequences de quelques experiences assez ordinaires qu'un autre ne sçauroit tirer des plus choisies, outre qu'il y a un art d'experimenter & d'interroger, pour ainsi dire, la nature. Cependant il est toujours vray qu'on ne sçauroit avancer dans le detail de la phisique qu'à mesure qu'on a des experiences. Mons.* Locke *est de l'opinion de plusieurs habiles hommes, qui tiennent que la forme des Logiciens est de peu d'usage. Je serois quasi d'un autre sentiment; & j'ay trouvé souvent que les paralogismes même dans les mathematiques sont des manquemens de la forme. M.* Huygens *a fait la même remarque. Il y*

auroit

auroit bien à dire là dessus ; & plusieurs choses excellentes sont meprisées parce qu'on n'en fait pas l'usage dont elles sont capables. Nous sommes portés à mespriser ce que nous avons appris dans les écoles. Il est vray que nous y apprenons bien des inutilités mais il est bon de faire la fonction della crusca, *c'est à dire de separer le bon du mauvais. Mr.* Locke *le peut faire autant que qui que ce soit ; & de plus il nous donne des pensées considerables de son propre crû. Il n'est pas seulement* Essayeur, *mais il est encore* Transmutateur *par l'augmentation, qu'il donne du bon metail. S'il continnoit d'en faire present au public, nous luy en serions fort redevables.*

Je voudrois que Monf. *Locke* eut dit son sentiment a Monf. *Cunningham* sur mes Remarques, ou que Monf. *Cunningham* voulut nous le dire librement. Car je ne suis pas de ceux qui sont entestés, & la raison peut tout sur moy. Mais les affaires de negoce detournent Monf. *Locke* de ces pensées, car cette matiere de negoce est de très grande etendue & meme fort subtile & demi-mathematique, *&c.*

Mr.

Mr. Locke *to Mr.* Molyneux.

Dear Sir, *Oates*, 3. *May*. 1697.

THough the honour you do me in the value you put upon my ſhadow be a freſh mark of that friendſhip which is ſo great an happineſs to me, yet I ſhall never conſider my picture in the ſame houſe with you, without great regret at my ſo far diſtance from you my ſelf. But I will not continue to importune you with my complaints of that kind; 'tis an advantage greater than I could have hoped, to have the converſation of ſuch a friend, though with the ſea between; and the remaining little ſcantling of my life would be too happy if I had you in my neighbourhood.

I am glad to hear that the gentleman you mention in yours of the 6th. of the laſt month, does me the favour to ſpeak well of me on that ſide the water, I never deſerved other of him, but that he ſhould always have done ſo on this. If his exceeding great value of himſelf do not deprive the world of that uſefulneſs, that his parts, if rightly conducted, might be of, I ſhall be very glad. He went from *London*, as I heard afterwards, ſoon after I left it the laſt time. But he did me not the favour to give me a viſit whilſt I was there, nor to let me

know

know of his intended journey to you; if he had, 'tis possible I might have writ by him to you, which I am now not sorry I did not. I always value men of parts and learning, and think I cannot do too much in procuring them friends and assistance. But there may happen occasions that may make one stop ones hand. And 'tis the hopes of what use young men give, that they will make of their parts, which is to me the encouragement of being concerned for them. But, if vanity increases with age, I always fear whither it will lead a man. I say this to you because you are my friend for whom I have no reserves, and think I ought to talk freely where you enquire, and possibly may be concerned; but I say it to you alone, and desire it may go no farther. For the man I wish very well, and could give you, if it needed, proofs that I do so. And therefore I desire you to be kind to him; but I must leave it to your prudence, in what way, and how far. If his carriage with you gives you the promises of a steady useful man, I know you will be forward enough of your self, and I shall be very glad of it. For it will be his fault alone, if he prove not a very valuable man, and have not you for his friend.

But I have something to say to you of another man. Mons. *Le Clerc*, in a letter I lately

ately received from him, writes thus:

Monſ. C— *me diſoit dernierement que s'il trouvoit occaſion d'entrer dans une maiſon de condition en qualité de precepteur il ſeroit ravi d'en profiter. C'eſt un fort honête homme, & qui ſeroit bien capable de s'acquiter de cet emploi. Il ne ſait l'*Anglois *que par les livres, c'eſt à dire, qu'il l'entend lors qu'il le lit, mais qu'il ne le ſçauroit parler non plus que moi, faute d'habitude. Si quelque un de vos amis auroit beſoin de precepteur, & qu'il lui donnât de quoi s'entretenir, il ne ſauroit trouver d'homme plus ſage & plus reglé, outre qu'il ſait beaucoup de choſes utiles pour un emploi comme celui là, les belles lettres, l'hiſtoire*, &c.

This Mr. *C*— is he that tranſlated my book of *Education*, upon which occaſion I came to have ſome acquaintance with him by letters, and he ſeems a very ingenious man; and Mr. *Le Clerc* has often, before any thing of this, ſpoke of him to me with commendation and eſteem. He has ſince tranſlated *The Lady's Religion*, and *The Reaſonableneſs of Chriſtianity* into *French*. You may eaſily gueſs why I put this into my letter to you, after what you ſaid concerning Mr. *Le Clerc* in your laſt letter but one.

You are willing, I ſee, to make my little preſents to you more and greater than they

they are. Amongſt the books that Mr. *Churchill* ſent you, you are beholden to me (ſince you will call it ſo) but for one; and to that the Bp. of *Worceſter*, I hear, has an anſwer in the preſs, which will be out this week. So that I perceive this controverſie is a matter of ſerious moment beyond what I could have thought. This benefit I ſhall be ſure to get by it, either to be confirmed in my opinion, or be convinced of ſome errors, which I ſhall preſently reform, in my *Eſſay*, and ſo make it the better for it. For I have no opinions that I am fond of. Truth, I hope, I always ſhall be fond of, and ſo ready to embrace, and with ſo much joy, that I ſhall own it to the world, and thank him that does me the favour. So that I am never afraid of any thing writ againſt me, unleſs it be the waſting of my time, when it is not writ cloſely in purſuit of truth, and truth only.

In my laſt to you I ſent you a copy of Mr. *L*—— 's paper, I have this writ me out of *Holland* concerning it:

Mr. L ——— *Mathematicien de* Hannover *aiant oui dire, qu'on traduiſoit votre ouvrage, & qu'on l'alloit imprimer, a envoié ici à un de mes amis ce jugement qu'il en fait, comme pour la mettre à la tete. Cependant il a été bien aiſe qu'on vous le communicât. Il m'a été remis entre les mains pour cela. On*

m'a dit mille biens de ce Mathematicien. Il y a long temps que magna & præclara minatur, *ſans rien produire que quelques demonſtrations detachées. Je croi neanmions qu'il ne vous entend pas, & je doute qu'il s'entende bien lui même.*

I ſee you and I, and this gentleman, agree pretty well concerning the man; and this ſort of fidling makes me hardly avoid thinking that he is not that very great man as has been talked of him. His paper was in *England* a year, or more, before it was communicated to me, and I imagin you will think he need not make ſuch a great ſtir with it.

My *Eſſay*, you ſee, is tranſlating into *French*, and it is by the ſame Mr. *Coſte* above-mention'd. But this need not hinder Mr. *Burridge* in what he deſigned, for Mr. *Coſte* goes on exceeding ſlowly, as I am told.

You ſee how forward I am to importune you with all my little concerns. But this would be nothing to what I ſhould do if I were nearer you. I ſhould then be talking to you *de quolibet ente*, and conſulting you about a thouſand whimſies that come ſometimes into my thoughts. But with all this I unfeignedly am, Dear Sir,

Your moſt faithful humble ſervant,

JOHN LOCKE.

The

The poem that was ſent you by Mr. *Churchill*, amongſt the other books, I believe will pleaſe you, there are ſome noble parts in it.

Mr. MOLYNEUX *to Mr.* LOCKE.

My moſt honour'd friend, *Dublin, May* 15. 1697.

NOthing could excuſe my keeping your kind letter of *April* 10. ſo long by me unanſwer'd, but an unexpected and melancholy accident that has lately befallen a dear ſiſter of mine, who, on the 24th. of laſt month, loſt her huſband, the Lord Biſhop of *Meath*, a learned and worthy prelate. Our whole family has ſo deeply partaken in this trouble, that we have been all under a great concern; but more particularly my ſelf, who am intruſted, by the good biſhop, with the diſpoſal of ſome of his affairs. This has of late ſo taken me up that I had not time to take the ſatisfaction of writing to you; but the hurry of that buſineſs being ſomewhat abated, I reſume the pleaſure of kiſſing your hands, and of aſſuring you with what a deep ſenſe of gratitude I receive the kindneſs you have done me with my Lord Chancellor *Methwin*. I hope we ſhall ſee his Lordſhip ſoon

here, for we underſtand he parts from *London* the 18th. inſtant.

I am extremely obliged to you for the trouble you have been at in communicating to me Monſ. *L*——'s paper, and I am now ſorry I ever put the taſk on you; for to ſpeak freely to you, as I formerly did, I find nothing in this paper to make me alter the opinion I had of Monſ. *L*——'s performances this way. He is either very unhappy in expreſſing, or I am very dull in apprehending his thoughts. I do not know but ſome of the doubts he raiſes, concerning your *Eſſay*, may proceed from his unacquaintance with our language; and this makes me yet more earneſt to procure the tranſlation of your *Eſſay*; but Mr. *Burridge*, ſince he laſt arrived here, has been wholly employ'd in overtaking his buſineſs in the country, to which he is run much in arrear. He is chaplain to my Lord Chancellor *Methwin*, and, on that account, I hope he will keep much in town, and then I ſhall ply him hard.

I will give you a thouſand thanks for the preſent of your *letter to the Bp. of Worceſter*; but I need not give you my opinion of it, otherwiſe than as you find it in the following paragraph of a letter which I received concerning it, from a reverend prelate of this kingdom. (The preſent Bp. of [illegible], between our ſelves.)

" I read

" I read Mr. *Locke's letter to the Bp. of* " *Worcester* with great satisfaction, and am " wholly of your opinion, That he has " fairly laid the great Bp. on his back; but " 'tis with so much gentleness, as if he " were afraid not only of hurting him, but " even of spoiling or tumbling his cloaths. " Indeed I cannot tell which I most admire, " the great civility and good manners in " his book, or the force and clearness of his " reasonings. And I fancy the Bp. will " thank him privately, and trouble the " world no more with this dispute.

You see thereby my friend's, and my own opinion of your book; and I can tell you farther, that all those whom I have yet conversed with in this place, concerning it, agree in the same judgment. And another (bishop too) told me, that *though your words were as smooth as oyl, yet cut they like a two-edged sword.*

At the same time that Mr. *Churchill* sent me your *letter to the Bp.* he sent me likewise the *Second vindication of the Reasonableness of Christianity.* If you know the author thereof, (as I am apt to surmise you may) be pleased to let him know, that I think he has done *Edwards* too much honour in thinking him worth his notice; for so vile a poor wretch, certainly, never appear'd in print. But, at the same time, tell

him, that as this *vindication* contains a farther illuſtration of the divine truths in the *Reaſonableneſs of Chriſtianity*, he has the thanks of me, and of all fair candid men, that I converſe with about it.

In giving you the opinion we have here of your *letter to the Bp. of Worceſter*, I have rather choſen to let you know particularly that, of ſome of our biſhops with whom I converſe; for this rank, if any, might ſeem inclinable to favour their brother, could they do it with any ſhew of juſtice. And yet, after all, I am told from *London*, that the Bp. is hammering out an anſwer to you. Certainly ſome men think, or hope the world will think, that truth always goes with the laſt word.

You never write to me, that you do not raiſe new expectations in my longing mind of partaking your thoughts, on thoſe noble ſubjects you are upon. Your chapter concerning the *Conduct of the Underſtanding* muſt needs be very ſublime and ſpacious. Oh Sir! never more mention to me our diſtance as your loſs: 'Tis my diſadvantage! 'tis my unhappineſs! I never before had ſuch reaſon to deplore my hard fate, in being condemn'd to this priſon of an iſland: but one day or other I will get looſe, in ſpite of all the fetters and clogs that incumber me at preſent. But if you did but

know in what a wood of buſineſs I am engaged, (by the greateſt part whereof I reap no other advantage than the ſatisfaction of being ſerviceable to my friends) you would pity me. But I hope ſoon to rid my hands of a great part of this trouble, and then I ſhall be at more liberty. 'Till which happy time, and for ever, I remain

Your moſt faithful friend,

and moſt humble ſervant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr. MOLYNEUX *to Mr.* LOCKE.

Honoured dear Sir, *Dublin, May* 27. 1697.

THe hints you are pleaſed ſo friendly to communicate to me, in yours of the 3d. inſtant, concerning Mr. *T*—— are freſh marks of your kindneſs and confidence in me, and they perfectly agree with the apprehenſions I had conceived of that gentleman. Truly, to be free, and without reſerve to you, I do not think his management, ſince he came into this city, has been ſo prudent. He has raiſed againſt him the clamours of all parties; and this, not ſo much by his difference in opinion, as by his unſeaſonable way of diſcourſing, propa-

gating, and maintaining it. Coffee-houſes, and publick tables, are not proper places for ſerious diſcourſes, relating to the moſt important truths. But when alſo a tincture of vanity appears in the whole courſe of a man's converſation, it diſguſts many that may otherwiſe have a due value for his parts and learning. I have known a gentleman in this town, that was a moſt ſtrict *ſocinian*, and thought as much out of the common road as any man, and was alſo known ſo to do; but then his behaviour and diſcourſe was attended with ſo much modeſty, goodneſs, and prudence, that I never heard him publickly cenſur'd or clamour'd againſt, neither was any man in danger of cenſure, by receiving his viſits, or keeping him company. I am very loath to tell you how far 'tis otherwiſe with Mr. *T*— in this place; but, I am perſuaded it may be for his advantage that you know it, and that you friendly admoniſh him of it, for his conduct hereafter. I do not think that any man can be diſpenſed with to diſſemble the truth, and full perſuaſion of his mind in religious truths, when duly called to it, and upon fitting occaſions. But, I think, prudence may guide us in the choice of proper opportunities, that we may not run our ſelves againſt rocks to no purpoſe, and inflame men againſt us unneceſſarily. Mr. *T*——

alſo

alſo takes here a great liberty, on all occaſions, to vouch your patronage and friendſhip, which makes many that rail at him, rail alſo at you. I believe you will not approve of this, as far as I am able to judge by your ſhaking him off in your *letter to the Bp. of Worceſter*. But after all this, I look upon Mr. *T*—— as a very ingenious man, and I ſhould be very glad of any opportunity of doing him ſervice, to which I think my ſelf indiſpenſibly bound by your recommendation. One thing more I had almoſt forgot to intimate to you; That all here are mightily at a loſs in gueſſing what might be the occaſion of Mr. *T*——'s coming, at this time, into *Ireland*. He is known to be of no fortune or employ, and yet is obſerved to have a ſubſiſtence, but from whence it comes, no one can tell certainly. Theſe things, joyn'd with his great forwardneſs in appearing publick, makes people ſurmiſe a thouſand fancies. If you could give me light into theſe matters, as far as it may help me in my own conduct, I ſhould be much obliged to you.

By the books which Mr. *Coſte* has tranſlated, I perceive his inclinations would be extremely agreeable to mine, and I ſhould be very happy, could I give him, at preſent, any encouragement to come into my poor family. But I have a gentleman with me, in the houſe, whoſe dependance is wholly

upon

upon me; and I cannot find fault with my little boy's progrefs under him. When I formerly made enquiry from you about Monf. *Le Clerc*, I was in fome profpect of providing for this gentleman whom I now have, by the favour of a good friend, who is fince dead. So that, at prefent, having no opportunity of difpofing of him to his advantage, I cannot conveniently part with him. However, I do not know how foon it may be otherwife; and therefore be pleafed, in the mean time, to let me know fomething farther of Monf. *Cofte*; as whether he be a complete mafter of the *latin* tongue, or other language; whether a mathematician, or given to experimental philofophy; what his age, and where educated. As to the *Belles Lettres*, *l'Hiftoire*, &c. Monf. *Le Clerc* has mention'd them already in his character.

I am mightily pleafed to find that fome others have the fame thoughts of Monf. *L*— as you and I. His performances in mathematicks have made the world miftaken in him. But certainly in other attempts I am of your opinion, he no more underftands himfelf, than others underftand him.

Mr. *Churchill* favour'd me with the prefent of Sir *R. Blackmore*'s *K. Arthur*. I had *Pr. Arthur* before, and read it with admiration, which is not at all leffen'd by this fecond piece. All our *Englifh* poets (except

Milton)

Milton) have been meer ballad-makers, in comparison to him. Upon the publication of his first poem, I intimated to him, thro' Mr. *Churchill*'s hands, how excellently I thought he might perform a philosophick poem, from many touches he gave in his *Pr. Arthur*, particularly from *Mopas*'s song. And, I perceive by his preface to *K. Arthur*, he has had the like intimations from others, but rejects them, as being an enemy to all philosophick hypotheses. Were I acquainted with Sir *R. Blackmore*, I could assure him (and if you be so, I beseech you to tell him) that I am as little an admirer of hypotheses as any man, and never proposed that thought to him with a design that a philosophick poem should run on such a strain. *A natural history of the great and admirable phænomena of the universe* is a subject, I think, may afford sublime thoughts in a poem, and so far, and no farther, would I desire a poem to extend.

You see I am carried beyond my designed bounds, by the mark on t'other side this leaf. But as I am never weary of reading letters from you, so I think I am never tyred of writing to you. However, 'tis time I relieve you, by subscribing my self intirely

Your most affectionate,
and devoted servant,
WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr.

Mr. Locke *to Mr.* Molyneux.

Dear Sir, *Oates*, 15. *June* 1697.

I Have the honour of your two obliging letters of the 15th. and 27th. of *May*, wherein I find the ſame mind, the ſame affection, and the ſame friendſhip, which you have ſo frankly, and ſo long, made me happy in. And, if I may gueſs, by the paragraph which you tranſcribed out of your friend's letter into yours of the 15th. of *May*, I ſhall have reaſon to think your kindneſs to me is grown infectious, and that by it you faſcinate your friends underſtandings, and corrupt their judgments in my favour. 'Tis enough for me, in ſo unequal a match, if mighty truth can keep me from a ſhameful overthrow. If I can maintain my ground, 'tis enough, againſt ſo redoubtable an adverſary, but victory I muſt not think of. I doubt not but you are convinced of that by this time, and you will ſee how ſilly a thing it is for an unſkill'd pigmy to enter the liſts with a man at arms, verſed in the uſe of his weapons.

My health, and buſineſſes that I like as little as you do thoſe you complain of, make me know what it is to want time. I often reſolve not to trouble you any more with my complaints of the diſtance between us,

us, and as often impertinently break that resolution. I never have any thoughts working in my head, or any new project start in my mind, but my wishes carry me immediately to you, and I desire to lay them before you. You may justly think this carries a pretty severe reflection on my country, or my self, that in it I have not a friend to communicate my thoughts with. I cannot much complain of want of friends to other purposes. But a man with whom one can freely seek truth, without any regard to old or new, fashionable or not fashionable, but truth merely for truth's sake, is what is scarce to be found in an age, and such an one I take you to be. Do but think then what a pleasure, what an advantage it would be to me to have you by me, who have so much thought, so much clearness, so much penetration, all directed to the same aim which I propose to my self in all the ramblings of my mind. I, on this occasion, mention only the wants that I daily feel, which makes me not so often speak of the other advantages I should receive from the communication of your own notions, as well as from the correction of mine. But, with this repining, I trouble you too much, and, for the favours I receive from you, thank you too little, and rejoyce not enough in having such a friend, tho' at a distance.

As

As to the gentleman, to whom you think my friendly admonishments may be of advantage for his conduct hereafter, I must tell you, that he is a man to whom I never writ in my life, and, I think, I shall not now begin. And, as to his conduct, 'tis what I never so much as spoke to him of. That is a liberty to be only taken with friends and intimates, for whose conduct one is mightily concerned, and in whose affairs one interesses himself. I cannot but wish well to all men of parts and learning, and be ready to afford them all the civilities, and good offices in my power. But there must be other qualities to bring me to a friendship, and unite me in those stricter tyes of concern. For I put a great deal of difference between those whom I thus receive into my heart and affection, and those whom I receive into my chamber, and do not treat there with a perfect strangeness. I perceive you think your self under some obligation of peculiar respect to that person upon the account of my recommendation to you; but certainly this comes from nothing but your over-great tenderness to oblige me. For, if I did recommend him, you will find it was only as a man of parts and learning for his age, but without any intention that that should be of any other consequence, or lead you any farther, than the other quali-

ties you ſhould find in him, ſhould recommend him to you. And therefore, whatſoever you ſhall, or ſhall not do for him, I ſhall no way intereſt my ſelf in. I know, of your own ſelf, you are good a friend to thoſe who deſerve it of you; and for thoſe that do not, I ſhall never blame your neglect of them. The occaſion of his coming into *Ireland* now, I gueſs to be the hopes of ſome employment, now upon this change of hands there. I tell you, *I gueſs*, for he himſelf never told me any thing of it, nor ſo much as acquainted me with his intentions of going to *Ireland*, how much ſoever *he vouches my patronage and friendſhip*, as you are pleaſed to phraſe it. And as to his ſubſiſtence, from whence that comes, I cannot tell. I ſhould not have waſted ſo much of my converſation, with you, on this ſubject, had you not told me it would oblige you to give you light in theſe matters, which I have done, as a friend to a friend, with a greater freedom than I ſhould allow my ſelf to talk to another.

I ſhall, when I ſee Sir *R. Blackmore*, diſcourſe him as you deſire. There is, I with pleaſure find, a ſtrange harmony throughout, between your thoughts and mine. I have always thought, that laying down, and building upon hypotheſes, has been one of the great hindrances of natural knowledge;

and

and I ſee your notions agree with mine in it. And, though I have a great value for Sir *R. Blackmore*, on ſeveral accounts, yet there is nothing has given me a greater eſteem of him, than what he ſays about hypotheſes in medicine, in his preface to *K. Arthur*, which is an argument to me that he underſtands the right method of practiſing phyſick; and it gives me great hopes he will improve it, ſince he keeps in the only way it is capable to be improved in; and has ſo publickly declared againſt the more eaſie, faſhionable, and pleaſing way of an hypotheſis, which, I think, has done more to hinder the true art of phyſick, which is the curing of diſeaſes, than all other things put together; by making it learned, ſpecious, and talkative, but ineffective to its great end, the health of mankind; as was viſible in the practice of phyſick, in the hands of the illiterate *Americans*; and the learned phyſicians, that went thither out of *Europe*, ſtored with their hypotheſes, borrowed from natural philoſophy, which made them indeed great men, and admir'd in the ſchools, but, in curing diſeaſes, the poor *Americans*, who had ſcaped thoſe ſplendid clogs, clearly out-went them. You cannot imagin how far a little obſervation, carefully made, by a man not tyed up to the four humours; or *ſal*, *ſulphur* and *mercury*; or to *acid* and *alcali*,

 which

which has of late prevailed, will carry a man in the curing of diſeaſes, though very ſtubborn and dangerous, and that with very little and common things, and almoſt no medicines at all. Of this I could, from my own experience, convince you, were we together but a little while. But my letter is too long already. When I am writing to you, the pleaſure of talking to you makes me forget you are a man of buſineſs, and have your hands full. I beg your pardon for it. 'Tis time to diſmiſs you. I am,

Dear Sir,

Your moſt affectionate, and

moſt faithful humble ſervant,

JOHN LOCKE.

Mr. MOLYNEUX *to Mr.* LOCKE.

Dublin, July 20. 1697.

THe lateſt favour I received from my ever honour'd friend was of the 15th. of *June*, and I have it before me, to acknowledge with all due gratitude. I was mightily ſurprized to ſee the Bp. of *Worceſter's anſwer to your letter*; I thought he would have let that matter fall, and have

 privately

privately thanked you, and have faid no more. This was the leaft I expected from him; for I think indeed, he might have gone farther, and made his publick acknowledgments to you. This had been like a man of ingenuity and candor; and by this he had been more valuable, in the opinion of all I converfe with here, than by the fhiftings, windings, and turnings he ufes in his laft piece. You well obferve the bifhop has fhewn himfelf a man at his weapon; but I think him *Andabatarum more pugnare*, he winks as he fights. However, in the poftfcript he fhews a fample of the old leven, and muft not let you go without coupling his obfervations on a *focinian* book, with his confutation of yours; as if there were fomething fo agreeable between them, that they cannot be well feparated. This is fuch an indirect practice, and feems fuch an inviduous infinuation, that I cannot but give it the name of *malice*.

I am obliged to you for the confidence you put in me, by communicating your thoughts concerning Mr. *T*———, more freely than you would do to every one. He has had his oppofers here, as you will find by a book which I have fent to you by a gentleman's fervant, to be left for you at your lodging; wherein you will meet with a paffage relating to your felf, which, tho' with

with decency, yet I fear will not redound much to the author's advantage; for, with very great assurance, (an usual companion of ignorance) he undertakes to *demonstrate the immateriality of the soul*, and to shew the falsity of your argumentation, wherein you assert, *That we have no proof, but that God may communicate a power of thinking to a certain system of matter.* But this is all but assertion and promise; we are so unhappy as yet to want this *demonstration* from this author, and I fear we shall ever want it from him; and, I believe, you will be of my opinion when you read his book. The *author* is my acquaintance; but two things I shall never forgive in his book; the one is the foul language, and opprobrious names he gives Mr. *T*———; the other is, upon several occasions, calling in the aid of the civil magistrate, and delivering Mr. *T*——— up to secular punishment. This, indeed, is a killing argument; but some will be apt to say, That where the strength of his reason fail'd him, there he flies to the strength of the sword. And this minds me of a business that was very surprizing to many, even several prelates in this place, the presentment of some pernicious books, and their authors, by the grand jury of *Middlesex*. This is look'd upon as a matter of dangerous consequence,

to make our civil courts judges of religious doctrines; and no one knows, upon a change of affairs, whose turn it may be next to be condemned. But the example has been follow'd in our country; and Mr. *T*——, and his book, have been presented here, by a grand jury, not one of which (I am persuaded) ever read one leaf in *Christianity not mysterious*. Let the *Sorbone* for ever now be silent; a learned grand jury, directed by as learned a judge, does the business much better. The dissenters here were the chief promoters of this matter; but, when I asked one of them, What if a violent church of *England* jury should present Mr. *Baxter*'s books, as pernicious, and condemn them to the flames by the common executioner: he was sensible of the error, and said, He wish'd it had never been done.

I must not forget to thank you for the countenance I have received from my Lord Chancellor *Methuen*, since his coming into *Ireland*. I know 'tis all owing to your, and your friends endeavours. My Lord is a person from whom the kingdom expects very well, for hitherto his management has been very promising. Mr. *Burridge* is his chaplain, and expects very soon to be settled in a parish here in *Dublin*, and then he promises me to prosecute the *Essay* with vigour.

My

My brother gives you his moſt humble ſervice. He is told, by Mr. *Burridge*, that you had ſent him a book in medicine, but by what hand, he could not inform him. He has ſuch a value for every thing that comes from you, that he deſired me to let you know that no ſuch book came to his hands, or elſe he had not all this while defer'd his acknowledgments.

I perceive you are ſo happy as to be acquainted with Sir *Richard Blackmore*; he is an extraordinary perſon, and I admire his two prefaces as much as I do any parts of his books; the firſt, wherein he expoſes the *licentiouſneſs and immorality of our late poetry*, is incomparable; and the ſecond, wherein he proſecutes the *ſame ſubject*, and delivers his thoughts concerning *hypotheſes*, is no leſs judicious. And I am wholly of his opinion, relating to the latter. However, the *hiſtory and phænomena of nature* we may venture at; and this is what I propoſe to be the ſubject of a philoſophick poem. Sir *R. Blackmore* has exquiſite touches of this kind, diſpers'd in many places of his books; (to paſs over *Mopas*'s ſong) I'll inſtance one particular, in the moſt profound ſpeculations of Mr. *Newton*'s philoſophy, thus curiouſly touch'd in *King Arthur*, *book* ix. *pag.* 243.

The conſtellations ſhine at his command,
He form'd their radiant orbs, and with his hand
He weigh'd, and put them off with ſuch a force,
As might preſerve an everlaſting courſe.

I doubt not but Sir *R. Blackmore*, in theſe lines, had a regard to the proportionment of the projective motion to the *vis centripeta*, that keeps the planets in their continued courſes.

I have by me ſome obſervations made by a judicious friend of mine, on both Sir *R. Blackmore*'s poems; if they may be any ways acceptable to Sir *R.* I ſhall ſend them to you; they are in the compaſs of a ſheet of paper. And, were it proper, I ſhould humbly deſire you to procure for me, from Sir *R.* the key to the perſon's names, in both his poems; moſt of the firſt I have already, and a great many in the ſecond, but many I alſo want, which I ſhould be very glad to underſtand. But if herein I deſire any thing diſagreeable, I beg Sir *Richard*'s pardon, and deſiſt.

Ever ſince you firſt mentioned to me that Monſ. *Le Clerc* might be inticed into *Ireland* by a moderate encouragement, it has ſat grievous on my ſpirit, that it lay not in my power to procure for him what might be worth

worth his acceptance. I ſhould reckon it (next to your friendſhip) one of the greateſt glories of my life, that I could be able any ways to contribute to tranſplanting him hither. T'other day I ventur'd to mention it to a great prelate here, the Bp. of ——. He was pleaſed to favour the propoſal immediately, and gave me directions, that I ſhould enquire whether Monſ. *Le Clerc* would be willing to take orders in our *church*, and to ſubmit to the oaths and injunctions thereof; and how far he is maſter of the engliſh language. He told me, he doubted not but he might procure for him 150 or 200*l. per an.* in ſome place of eaſe and retirement. Be pleaſed therefore, dear Sir, to let me be informed in theſe particulars, and in whatever elſe you think requiſite in managing this affair.

I have protracted this letter as if I had a deſign to kill you, by tiring you to death. I beg your excuſe for it. I am,

Dear Sir,

Your moſt affectionate

humble ſervant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr. LOCKE *to Mr.* MOLYNEUX.

Dear Sir, *London*, 11 *Sept.* 1697.

IF you have received my reply to the Bp. before this comes to your hand, I ſhall need ſay no more to the firſt paragraph of your obliging letter of the 20th. of *July*. Mr. *Churchill* tells me, he has taken care you ſhould have it with ſpeed. I have order'd another to Mr. *Burridge*, who has, by his undertaking, ſome concernment now in my *Eſſay*. I am not delighted at all in controverſie, and think I could ſpend my time to greater advantage to my ſelf. But, being attack'd, as I am, and in a way that ſufficiently juſtifies your remarks on it, I think every body will judge I had reaſon to defend my ſelf; whether I have or no, ſo far as I have gone, the world muſt judge.

I think, with you, the diſſenters were beſt conſider, *That what is ſauce for a gooſe is ſauce for a gander*. But they are a ſort of men that will always be the ſame.

You thank me for what is owing to your own worth. Every one who knows you, will think (if he judges right) that he receives as much advantage as he gives by the countenance he ſhews you. However, I am obliged by your thanks to me, for, if I do not procure you as much good as you are capa-

ble

ble of receiving from any one that comes to you from hence, 'tis my want of ability, and not want of will. My heart and inclination, wherein the friendſhip lies, will always be ſuch, as I can preſume, will not diſpleaſe you, in a man whom I am very ſenſible you love.

Here was, the laſt year, a book in phyſick publiſhed by a young lad not twenty, who had never ſeen the univerſity. It was about the motion of the muſcles, with as good an explication of it as any I have yet ſeen. I believe I might have ſpoke to Mr. *Churchill* to ſend your brother one of them, for the ſake of the author; (for, as to the ſubject it ſelf, I fear I ſhall never ſee it explained to my ſatisfaction) whether he did it or no I have not yet aſked; but the book it ſelf is not worth your brother's enquiry or acknowledgement; though being written by ſuch an author, made it a kind of curioſity. I ſhould be very glad if I could do him here any ſervice of greater importance. But I having now wholly laid by the ſtudy of phyſick, I know not what comes out new, or worth the reading, in that faculty. Pray give my humble ſervice to your brother, and let me know whether he hath any children, for then I ſhall think my ſelf obliged to ſend him one of the next edition of my book of *Education*, which, my book-

ſeller

ſeller tells me, is out of print; and I had much rather be at leiſure to make ſome additions to that, and my *Eſſay of Humane Underſtanding*, than be employed to defend my ſelf againſt the groundleſs, and, as others think, trifling quarrel of the Bp. But his Lordſhip is pleaſed to have it otherwiſe, and I muſt anſwer for my ſelf as well as I can, till I have the good luck to be convinced.

I was not a little pleas'd to find what thoughts you had concerning hypotheſes in phyſick. Though Sir *R. B*'s vein in poetry be what every body muſt allow him to have an extraordinary talent in, and though with you I exceedingly valued his firſt preface, yet I muſt own to you, there was nothing that I ſo much admired him for, as for what he ſays of hypotheſes in his laſt. It ſeems to me ſo right, and is yet ſo much out of the way of the ordinary writers, and practitioners in that faculty, that it ſhews as great a ſtrength and penetration of judgment, as his poetry has ſhew'd flights of fancy; and therefore I was very glad to find in you the ſame thoughts of it. And when he comes luckily in my way, I ſhall not forget your wiſhes, and ſhall acquaint him with the obſervations you mention. And the key you deſire I ſhall ſend you, if it be fit to be aſked of him, which I am at preſent in ſome doubt of.

Tho'

Tho' I coul'd my ſelf anſwer many of your queſtions concerning Monſ. *Le Clerc*, yet I have ſent them to him himſelf, with the reaſon of them. I have not yet received his anſwer, the expectation whereof has delay'd my writing to you for ſome time. In the mean time, till I hear from him, I thank you in his name and my own.

I ſhall be very glad to hear from you how the linen manufacture goes on, on that ſide the water, and what aſſiſtance the parliament there is like to give to it, for I wiſh proſperity to your country, and, very particularly, all manner of happineſs to you. I am unfeignedly,

SIR,

Your moſt affectionate,

humble ſervant,

JOHN LOCKE.

What I told you formerly of a ſtorm coming againſt my book, proves no fiction. Beſides what you will ſee I have taken notice of in my reply, Mr. *Serjeant*, a popiſh prieſt, whom you muſt needs have heard of, has beſtow'd a thick 8vo upon my *Eſſay*, and Mr. *Norris*, as I hear, is writing hard againſt it. Shall I not be quite ſlain, think you, amongſt ſo many notable combatants, and the Lord knows how many more to come?

Mr.

Mr. MOLYNEUX *to Mr.* LOCKE.

Honoured Sir, *Dublin, Sept.* 11. 1697.

MY last to you was of *July* 20. since which time I have not had the happiness of a line from you. But I am satisfy'd you are better employ'd; and indeed, when I see daily what swarms of angry wasps do arise against you (besides many which reach not our view in this place) I wonder not that you should be so far engaged as to have little time to throw away on me. T'other day I met with the last effort of Mr. *Edwards*'s malice; I do now heartily pity the poor wretch; he is certainly mad, and no more to be taken notice of hereafter than the railings of *Oliver*'s porter in *Bethlem.* I have seen also a philosophical writer against you, of another strain, one *J. S.* that writes against all Ideists; this gentleman, tho' civil, yet to me is absolutely unintelligible, so unfortunate I am. Who he is I know not, but should be glad to learn from you; and what you think, in general, of his book.

Mr. *T*——— is, at last, driven out of our kingdom; the poor gentleman, by his imprudent management, had raised such an universal outcry, that 'twas even dangerous for a man to have been known once to converse

converſe with him. This made all wary men of reputation decline ſeeing him; inſomuch that at laſt he wanted a meal's-meat (as I am told) and none would admit him to their tables. The little ſtock of money which he brought into this country being exhauſted, he fell to borrowing from any one that would lend him half a crown, and run in debt for his wigs, cloaths, and lodging, (as I am inform'd;) and laſt of all, to compleat his hardſhips, the parliament fell on his book, voted it to be burnt by the common hangman, and order'd the author to be taken into cuſtody of the Serjeant at arms, and to be proſecuted by the attorney-general at law. Hereupon he is fled out of this kingdom, and none here knows where he has directed his courſe. I did believe you might be a great while to come a ſtranger to theſe proceedings, unleſs I had intimated them to you; and that is one of my deſigns in writing this to you.

I am here very happy in the friendſhip of an honourable perſon, Mr. *Moleſworth*, who is an hearty admirer and acquaintance of yours. We never meet but we remember you; he ſometimes comes into my houſe, and tells me, 'tis not to pay a viſit to me, but to pay his devotion to your image that is in my dining room.

I ſhould

I ſhould be glad to hear farther from you, concerning Monſ. *Le Clerc* and Monſ. *Coſte*, in relation to what I formerly writ to you concerning thoſe gentlemen. I am,

SIR,

Your moſt obliged,

humble ſervant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr. MOLYNEUX *to Mr.* LOCKE.

Honoured Sir, *Dublin, Oct.* 4. 1697.

I Perceive we were each of us mindful of t'other on the 11th. of the laſt month, for of that date was your laſt to me, as you will find mine likewiſe to you bore the ſame.

You have already anſwer'd ſome of my impertinent enquiries in that letter, you tell me therein, who *J. S.* is that writes againſt you. I do not now wonder at the confuſedneſs of his notions, or that they ſhould be unintelligible to me. I ſhould have much more admired, had they been otherwiſe. I expect nothing from Mr. *Serjeant* but what is abſtruſe in the higheſt degree.

I look

I look for nothing elſe from Mr. *Norris*; I thought that gentleman had enough on't, in his firſt attempt on your *Eſſay*; but he's ſo over-run with father *Malbranch*, and *Plato*, that 'tis in vain to endeavour to ſet him right, and I give him up as an inconvincible enemy.

But, above all theſe, I ſhould wonder at the Bp. of *Worceſter*'s obſtinacy, did I not think that I partly know the reaſon thereof. He has been an old ſoldier in controverſies, and has hitherto had the good luck of victory; but now, in the latter end of his wars, to be laid on his back (as he thinks the world would certainly ſay, unleſs he has the laſt word) would wither all his former laurels, and loſe his glory. Your *Reply* to him is not yet come to hand; but I can wait with the more patience, becauſe I am pretty well ſatisfy'd in the matter already.

I am very glad to underſtand that we are to expect another edition of your *Education*, with additions. I never thought you writ too much on any ſubject whatever.

I have formerly written to you to know farther concerning Monſ. *Coſte*, who tranſlated ſome of your books into *French*. I fancy, by that gentleman's inclinations to your works, he and I ſhould agree very well. Pray let me know, whether to his

belles lettres he has any ſkill in the mathematicks, natural hiſtory, *&c.* as alſo what his circumſtances are, as to his education, parentage, *&c.* For, according to theſe, I may judge whether I can give him any encouragement to come hither.

You had been troubled with this letter ſooner, but that I waited for the incloſed, to ſatisfie your enquiry concerning our linen manufacture. You will find thereby, that we have framed a bill to be enacted for the encouragement thereof. This bill is now before the council of *England*, purſuant to our conſtitution of parliament. What alterations, additions, and amendments it may receive there, we know not, but I am apt to think you will have the conſideration and modelling thereof at your committee of trade. We are very ſenſible, that the act we have drawn up (whereof the incloſed are the heads) is not ſo perfect and compleat as it may be, but this we thought a fair beginning to ſo great an attempt, and that time muſt be given for a farther progreſs, and carrying it higher, by additional laws, as occaſion may require. The woollen manufacture of *England* was not eſtabliſh'd at that high pitch (to which now 'tis rais'd) by any one law, or any one generation. It muſt be ſo with us in relation to our linen; but this, we hope, may be

be a fair ſtep towards it : *Eſt aliquid prodire tenus*, &c.

James Hamilton of *Tullymore*, Eſq; is an indefatigable promoter of this deſign, and I may ſay indeed the whole ſcheme is owing to his contrivance. He is an hearty admirer of yours, and communicated to me the incloſed abſtract purpoſely for your ſatisfaction ; deſiring me with it to give you his moſt humble ſervice, and to requeſt of you your thoughts concerning this matter by the firſt leiſure you can ſpare.

Whilſt our houſe of commons were framing this bill, our lords juſtices communicated to us ſome papers which they had received from the lords juſtices of *England*, laid before them by your board. But theſe papers coming in a little too late, when we had juſt cloſed the bill, and a very little time before our laſt adjournment for three weeks ; all we did with them was to remit them again to our lords juſtices and council, with the houſes deſire, that if their lordſhips ſhould think fit to excerp any thing out of thoſe papers and add it to our act, whilſt they had it before them in order to be tranſmitted into *England*, their lordſhips might do therein as they pleaſed, and the houſe would agree to any ſuch additions, when the act came before us tranſmitted in due form under the ſeal of *England*. Whether the lords juſtices

will make any ſuch additions out of thoſe papers I cannot yet tell; but I am ſure there were many things in thoſe papers that highly deſerved to be put in execution.

My brother gives you his moſt humble ſervice, and ſhould be very proud of the preſent of your *Education*. For tho' he has yet only two daughters, yet he is in hopes of many ſons; and the girls minds require as much framing, as the boys, and by the ſame rules: and that I take to be the chief part of education. I am

Your's moſt ſincerely,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr. MOLYNEUX *to Mr.* LOCKE.

My moſt honoured Friend, *Dublin*, Oct. 28. 1697.

IF men could deſtroy by a quill, as they ſay porcupines do, I ſhould think your death not very far off. But whatever venom they mixt with their ink againſt you, I hope it is not mortal; I am ſure in my opinion 'tis not the leaſt harmful or dangerous. Your *reply to the biſhop of Worceſter* ſhews how vainly the mightieſt champion ſpends his darts at you, and with what

force and ſtrength of reaſon you return them on their own heads. But notwithſtanding this, I verily believe he will offer again at his weak efforts; for he that was ſo fully poſſeſs'd of his own ſufficiency, as to think he could deal with your firſt letter to him, will certainly never lay down the cudgels till his blood be about his ears: and if he thought himſelf obliged in honour to juſtify his firſt blunders, much more will he think himſelf ſo now, when he is thrown over head and ears in the mire. To paſs by all the reſt of your *Reply* (wherein you have given him many a ſevere wound) I think he is no where ſo clearly and diſgracefully foil'd, as by the converſation between you and your friend concerning his notions of *nature* and *perſon*. But above all, the conſequence you draw from thence of his being obliged to write againſt his own *Vindication of the Trinity*, muſt needs wound him to the heart; and indeed I do not ſee how 'tis poſſible for him to avoid the force of that blow by all his art and cunning. Yet write he will, I am ſure on't, and pour forth an abundance of words; but ſo he may for ever. I envy not the place of his *amanuenſis*.

But all this while I have forgot to return you my acknowledgments for the favour of your book. I am extremely obliged

to you for remembring me amongſt your other friends, whenever you are pleas'd to oblige the learned world with any of your happy thoughts. I had no ſooner peruſed them, but they were ſnatch'd out of my hands by my lord chancellor, (ſo covetous are all men of whatever comes from you) and he has them yet.

Amongſt the other ſmall craft that appears againſt you, I meet with one *J. H.'s State of* England *in relation to Coin and Trade.* I hear the author's name is *Hodges.* He is much of a claſs in this particular as Mr. *Serjeant* in relation to your *Eſſay*, that is, both to me unintelligible.

The incloſed is a ſample of what this place produces againſt you: I wiſh you may not ſay, that it reſembles our mountains and bogs in being barren and uſeleſs. I have ventur'd to ſend you my ſhort anſwer thereto; for a longer I think it did not deſerve. I have not ſeen the biſhop ſince this has paſs'd; but we are ſo good friends, that this buſineſs will cauſe no anger between us. I am

Your moſt obliged humble ſervant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Biſhop

Bishop of----'s Letter to Mr. MOLYNEUX.

SIR, *Johnstown*, Oct. 26. 1697.

I Have met with Mr. *Locke*'s *Reply* to the bishop of *Worcester*, and have had leisure to look it over here. I meddle not with the controversy between them, but confess I am a little surpriz'd at what I find *p.* 95, and 96. where we have these words: *To talk of the* certainty of faith, *seems all one to me, as to talk of the knowledge of believing:* and, *when it is brought to* certainty, faith *is destroy'd:* and, *bring it to* certainty, *and it ceases to be* faith. And he in terms owns, *p.* 93. *With me to know and to be certain, is the same thing; what I know that I am certain of, and what I am certain of, that I know.* And, *p.* 92. *Knowledge I find in my self, and I conceive in others, consists in the perception of the agreement or disagreement of the immediate objects of the mind in thinking, which I call ideas.* And, *p.* 83. *Certainty consists in the perception of the agreement or disagreement of two ideas.* Now to me it seems, that according to Mr. *Locke* I cannot be said to know any thing except there be two ideas in my mind, and all the knowledge I have must be concerning the relation these two ideas have to one another, and that I can be certain of nothing else; which, in my opinion, excludes all certainty of

ſenſe and of ſingle ideas, all certainty of conſciouſneſs, ſuch as willing, believing, knowing, *&c.* and, as he confeſſes, all certainty of faith, and laſtly, all certainty of remembrance, of which I have formerly demonſtrated, as ſoon as I have forgot or do not actually think of the demonſtration. For I ſuppoſe you are well aware, that in demonſtrating mathematical propoſitions, 'tis not always from actual perception of the agreement of ideas that we aſſume other propoſitions formerly demonſtrated to infer the concluſion, but from memory: and yet we do not think our ſelves leſs certain on that account. If this be the importance of Mr. *L.*'s words, as it ſeems to me to be, then we are not certain of what we ſee, hear, or feel; we are not certain of the acts of our own mind; we are not certain of any thing that remains in our minds merely by the ſtrength of our memory; and laſtly, we are not certain of any propoſition, tho' God and man witneſs the truth of it to us: and then judge how little certainty is left in the world, and how near this laſt comes to Mr. *Toland*'s propoſition, that authority or teſtimony is only *a means of information, not a ground of perſuaſion*: For I muſt own, that I think I am only perſuaded of the truth of a thing, in proportion to the certainty I have of it:

and

and if knowledge and certainty be reciprocally the ſame, and conſiſt in the perception of the agreement or diſagreement of two ideas; where I do not perceive theſe, tho' God and man, nay the whole world ſhould teſtify to me that they do agree or diſagree, I cannot be certain of it. I muſt profeſs my ſelf of another opinion; and I think I am as certain there was ſuch a man as Mr. *L.* from the teſtimony of you, and other circumſtances, tho' I perceive no agreement or diſagreement in this caſe between the two ideas to convince me of his being; as that the three angles of a ſtraight-lin'd triangle are equal to two right angles, where I actually perceive the agreement, or rather equality: or, that the area of a cyclois is equal to triple the generating circle, of which I am certain by memory, tho' I do not at preſent perceive the demonſtration, or any agreement between the ideas of three circles and a cyclois, only remember that I once perceived it.

Let me farther add, that *agreement* and *diſagreement* are metaphorical terms when applied to ideas; for *agreement* properly, I think, either ſignifies, 1ſt. a compact between two perſons; or 2dly. two things fitting one another, as the two parts of a tally; or 3dly, the likeneſs of two things, as of a pair of coach-horſes; or 4thly. the

aptitude of two things to ſupport or preſerve one another. So ſeveral meats agree with the ſtomach; but I do not find that in a propoſition the ideas have an agreement in any of theſe ſenſes; and I rather think the old way of expreſſing this matter ought to be retain'd. I learn'd in *Smiglecius*, that when the *ſpecies intelligibilis* of the predicate was the ſame with the *ſpecies* of the ſubject, the one might be affirm'd of the other: and when the *medius terminus* was the ſame with the one extreme term in one of the premiſſes, and the other extreme the ſame with it in the other of the premiſſes, the one might be affirm'd of the other in the concluſion, becauſe of the old axiom, *Quæ ſunt idem uni tertio, ſunt idem inter ſe.* You may uſe the metaphorical term of agreement here inſtead of identity; but Mr. *L.* has told us, *p.* 153. that *metaphorical expreſſions (which ſeldom terminate in truth) ſhou'd be as much as poſſible avoided, when men undertake to deliver* clear and diſtinct apprehenſions, *and exact notions of things.*

I do find that mens thoughts do not differ ſo much as their words, and that moſt men are of one mind when they come to underſtand one another, and have the ſame views; and hence many controverſies are only verbal. I doubt not but my difference from Mr. *L.* in this matter may be of the

ſame nature, and perhaps if I had carefully read his book of *Human Underſtanding*, I might perceive it; but I have neither opportunity, leiſure, or inclination to do ſo, and believe a great part of the world to be in the ſame circumſtances with me; and I verily believe that the expreſſions I have noted in his *Reply* will ſeem unwary to them as well as to me.

I do find he claims a liberty that will not be allow'd him by all, *p.* 92. *to pleaſe himſelf in his terms*, ſo they be uſed conſtantly *in the ſame and a known ſenſe*. I remember others have claim'd the ſame liberty under the notion of making their own dictionary; but I reckon the changing a term, tho' I declare my ſenſe and forewarn the reader of it, to be a very great injury to the world; and to introduce a new one, where there is one altogether to ſignify the ſame thing, equally injurious; and that a man has only this liberty where he introduces a new thing, that has yet no name. And I believe you ſee my reaſons for being of this opinion, and therefore ſhall not mention them. Let me only obſerve, that the want of this caution ſeems to me to have brought moſt of Mr. *L*'s trouble on him. Words were indeed arbitrary ſigns of things in thoſe that firſt impoſed them, but they are not to us. When

we

we uſe the beſt caution we can, we are apt to tranſgreſs in changing them; and when we do ſo out of weakneſs, we muſt ask pardon, but muſt not claim it as liberty, it being really a fault. A few minutes lying on my hands has given you this trouble; and I know your kindneſs to Mr. *L.* will not make it ungrateful to you, whilſt it aſſures you that I am

Your moſt affectionate

humble ſervant.

I could never comprehend any neceſſity for a criterion of certainty to the underſtanding, any more than of one to the eye, to teach it when it ſees. Let the eye be rightly diſpoſed, and apply an object to it; if duly apply'd, it will force it to ſee: and ſo apply an object to an underſtanding duly qualify'd, and if the arguments or object be as they ought to be, they will force the underſtanding to aſſent, and remove all doubts. And I can no more tell, what is in the object, or arguments, that aſcertains my underſtanding, than I can tell what it is in light, that makes me ſee. I muſt ſay, that the ſame God that ordered light to make me ſee, order'd truth, or rather certain objects, to aſcertain my underſtanding; and

I be-

I believe Mr. *L.* can hardly give any other reason why his agreement, *&c.* of ideas should cause certainty.

Mr. MOLYNEUX's *Answer to the Bishop.*

My Lord, *Dublin, October* 27. 1697.

I Am extremely obliged to your Lordship, that having a few minutes lying on your hands in your retirement from this town, you are pleased to bestow them on my friend and me. I should have acknowledg'd the favour more early, had your servant staid for an answer when he deliver'd yours to me; but he was gone out of my reach before I was aware of it.

And now, my lord, all the answer I shall trouble your lordship with at present, is this; that your lordship is much in the right on't, that had you read Mr. *Locke*'s *Essay of human understanding* more carefully and throughout, you had never made the objections you raise against him in your letter to me; for your lordship would have found his 4th book abundantly satisfactory in the difficulties you propose, and particularly the 2d and 18th chapters of the 4th book are a full answer to your lordship's letter.

But

But your lordſhip ſays, you have neither *opportunity*, *leiſure*, or *inclination* to read the *Eſſay*. My lord, I would not then have *leiſure* or *inclination* to animadvert on a book, that I had not (if not *inclination*) at leaſt *leiſure* to read. This, with ſubmiſſion, I cannot but ſay is great partiality. If your lordſhip ſays, your letter relates to his *Reply* to the Bp. of *Worceſter*; neither will this do, in my humble opinion; ſeeing your lordſhip ſeems to ſurmiſe (as indeed you gueſs rightly) that the *Eſſay* might have ſet you right in this matter. I am,

My Lord,

Your Lordſhip's moſt humble ſervant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr. MOLYNEUX *to Mr.* LOCKE.

Dear Sir, *Dublin, Decemb.* 18. 1697.

'TIS now above three months ſince I heard from you, your laſt being of *Sept.* 11. You will therefore excuſe my impatience, if I can forbear no longer, and ſend this merely to know, how you do. 'Tis an anguiſhing thought to me, that you

you ſhould be ſubject to the common frailties and fate of mankind; but it would be ſome alleviation to my trouble, that, if you are ill, I ſhould know the worſt of it. This has ſo wholly taken up my mind at preſent, that I have no inclination to write one word more to you in this; but again to repeat my requeſt to you, that you would let me know how you are; for till I know this, I am diſſatisfy'd, I am extremely uneaſy; but for ever ſhall be

Your moſt affectionate admirer,

and devoted ſervant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr. LOCKE *to Mr.* MOLYNEUX.

Dear Sir, *Oates*, 10 *Jan.* 169⅞.

YOur gentle and kind reproof of my ſilence has greater marks of true friendſhip in it, than can be expreſs'd in the moſt elaborate profeſſions, or be ſufficiently acknowledg'd by a man who has not the opportunity nor ability to make thoſe returns he would. Tho' I have had leſs health and more buſineſs ſince I writ to you laſt than ever I had for ſo long together in my

life,

life, yet neither the one nor the other had kept me ſo long a truant, had not the concurrence of other cauſes drill'd me on from day to day in a neglect of what I frequently purpoſed, and always thought my ſelf obliged to do. Perhaps the liſtleſneſs my indiſpoſition conſtantly kept me in, made me too eaſily hearken to ſuch excuſes; but the expectation of hearing every day from Monſ. *Le Clerc*, that I might ſend you his anſwer, and the thoughts that I ſhould be able to ſend your brother an account that his curious treatiſe concerning the Chafers in *Ireland* was printed, were at leaſt the pretences that ſerv'd to humour my lazineſs. Buſineſs kept me in town longer than was convenient for my health: all the day from my riſing was commonly ſpent in that, and when I came home at night my ſhortneſs of breath and panting for want of it made me ordinarily ſo uneaſy, that I had no heart to do any thing; ſo that the uſual diverſion of my vacant hours forſook me, and reading it ſelf was a burden to me. In this eſtate I linger'd along in town to *December*, till I betook my ſelf to my wonted refuge in the more favourable air and retirement of this place. That gave me preſently relief, againſt the conſtant oppreſſion of my lungs, whilſt I ſit ſtill: But I find ſuch a weakneſs of them ſtill remain, that if I ſtir

ever

ever ſo little I am immediately out of breath, and the very dreſſing or undreſſing me is a labour that I am fain to reſt after to recover my breath; and I have not been once out of the houſe ſince I came laſt hither. I wiſh nevertheleſs that you were here with me to ſee how well I am: For you would find, that, ſitting by the fire's ſide, I could bear my part in diſcourſing, laughing, and being merry with you, as well as ever I could in my life. If you were here (and if wiſhes of more than one could bring you, you would be here to day) you would find three or four in the parlour after dinner, whom you would ſay paſs'd their afternoons as agreeably and as jocundly as any people you have this good while met with. Do not therefore figure to your ſelf that I am languiſhing away my laſt hours under an unſociable deſpondency and the weight of my infirmity. 'Tis true I do not count upon years of life to come, but I thank God I have not many uneaſy hours here in the four and twenty; and if I can have the wit to keep my ſelf out of the ſtifling air of *London*, I ſee no reaſon but by the grace of God I may get over this winter, and that terrible enemy of mine may uſe me no worſe than the laſt did, which as ſevere and as long as it was let me yet ſee another ſummer.

What

What you ſay to me in yours of the 4th *Oct.* concerning the B. of *W.* you will I believe be confirm'd in, if his *Anſwer to my ſecond Letter*, of which I ſhall ſay nothing to you yet, be got to you.

Mr. *Coſte* is now in the houſe with me here, and is tutor to my lady *Maſham*'s ſon. I need not I think now anſwer your queſtions about his ſkill in mathematicks and natural hiſtory: I think it is not much; but he is an ingenious man, and we like him very well for our purpoſe; and I have a particular obligation to you for the reaſon why you enquir'd concerning him.

I come now to yours of 28th *Oct.* wherein you have found by this time that you prophesied right concerning the B. of *W.* and if you can remember what you ſaid therein concerning abundance of words, you will not, I ſuppoſe, forbear ſmiling, when you read the firſt leaf of his laſt *Anſwer*.

If there be not an evidence of ſenſe and truth, which is apt and fitted to prevail on every human underſtanding, as far as it is open and unprejudiced; there is at leaſt a harmony of underſtandings in ſome men, to whom ſenſe and nonſenſe, truth and falſhood, appears equally in the reſpective diſcourſes they meet with. This I find perfectly ſo between you and me, and it ſerves me to

no

no ſmall purpoſe to keep me in countenance. When I ſee a man, diſintereſſed as you are, a lover of truth as I know you to be, and one that has clearneſs and coherence enough of thought to make long mathematical, *i. e.* ſure deductions, pronounce of *J. H.* and *J. S.*'s books that they are unintelligible to you; I do not preſently condemn my ſelf of pride, prejudice, or a perfect want of underſtanding, for laying aſide thoſe Authors, becauſe I can find neither ſenſe or coherence in them. If I could think that diſcourſes and arguments to the underſtanding were like the ſeveral ſorts of cates to different palates and ſtomachs, ſome nauſeous and deſtructive to one, which are pleaſant and reſtorative to another; I ſhould no more think of books and ſtudy, and ſhould think my time better imploy'd at puſh-pin than in reading or writing. But I am convinced of the contrary: I know there is truth oppoſite to falſhood, that it may be found if people will, and is worth the ſeeking, and is not only the moſt valuable, but the pleaſanteſt thing in the world. And therefore I am no more troubled and diſturb'd with all the duſt that is raiſed againſt it, than I ſhould be to ſee from the top of an high ſteeple, where I had clear air and ſunſhine, a company of great boys or little boys (for 'tis all one) throw up

duſt in the air, which reach'd not me, but fell down in their own eyes.

Your anſwer to your friend the biſhop was certainly a very fit and full one to what he had ſaid, and I am obliged to you for it: But he nevertheleſs thought his objections ſo good, that I imagine he communicated them to my antagoniſt; for you will find the very ſame in his anſwer, and almoſt in the ſame words. But they will receive an anſwer at large in due time.

It will not be at all neceſſary to ſay any thing to you concerning the linen bill, which made ſo great a part of your letter of *Oct.* 4th, and was the whole buſineſs of that of *Oct.* 16th. You know (I believe) as well as I what became of that bill. Pray return my humble thanks to Mr. *Hamilton* for his kind expreſſions concerning me, and for the favour he did me in thinking me any ways able to ſerve his country in that matter. I am ſo concern'd for it, and zealous in it, that I deſire you to aſſure him, and to believe your ſelf, that I will neglect no pains or intereſt of mine to promote it as far as I am able; and I think it a ſhame, that whilſt *Ireland* is ſo capable to produce flax and hemp, and able to nouriſh the poor at ſo cheap a rate, and conſequently to have their labour upon ſo eaſy terms, that ſo much mony ſhould go yearly out of the

king's

king's dominions, to enrich foreigners, for those materials and the manufactures made out of them, when his people of *Ireland*, by the advantage of their soil, situation, and plenty, might have every penny of it, if that business were but once put into a right way. I perceive by one of your letters, that you have seen the proposals for an act sent from hence. I would be very glad that you and Mr. *Hamilton*, or any other man, whom you knew able, and a disinteressed well-wisher of his country, would consider them together, and tell me whether you think that project will do, or wherein it is either impracticable or will fail, and what may be added or alter'd in it to make it effectual to that end. I know, to a man a stranger to your country, as I am, many things may be overseen, which by reason of the circumstances of the place, or state of the people, may in practice have real difficulties. If there be any such in regard of that project, you will do me a favour to inform me of them. The short is, I mightily have it upon my heart to get the linen manufacture established in a flourishing way in your country. I am sufficiently sensible of the advantages it will be to you, and shall be doubly rejoyced in the success of it, if I should be so happy that you and I could be instrumental in it, and

have the chief hand in forming any thing that might conduce to it. Imploy your thoughts therefore I beſeech you about it, and be aſſured, what help I can give to it here ſhall be as readily and as carefully imploy'd, as if you and I alone were to reap all the profit of it.

I have not yet heard a word from Monſ. *Le Clerc* in anſwer to my enquiries, and the queſtions you ask'd, or elſe you had heard ſooner from me. I muſt beg you to return my acknowledgments to Mr. *Moleſworth* in the civileſt language you can find, for the great complement you ſent me from him. If he could ſee my confuſion as often as I read that part of your letter, that would expreſs my ſenſe of it better than any words I am maſter of. I can only ſay that I am his moſt humble ſervant, and I have been not a little troubled, that I could not meet with the opportunities I ſought to improve the advantages I propos'd to my ſelf, in an acquaintance with ſo ingenious and extraordinary a man as he is.

I read your brother's treatiſe, which he did me the honour to put into my hands, with great pleaſure, and thought it ſo unreaſonable to rob the publick of ſo grateful a preſent by any delay of mine, that I forthwith put it into Dr. *Sloane*'s hand to be publiſhed, and I expected to have ſeen it in

print

print long e'er this time. What has retarded it I have not yet heard from Dr. *Sloane*, who has not writ to me ſince I came into the country: But I make no doubt but he takes care of ſo curious a piece, and the world will have it ſpeedily. I muſt depend on you, not only for excuſing my ſilence to your ſelf, but I muſt be obliged to you to excuſe me to your brother for not having written to him my ſelf to thank him for the favour he did me. I hope e'er long to find an opportunity to teſtify my reſpects to him more in form, which he would find I have in reality for him, if any occaſion of that kind ſhould come in my way. In the mean time I believe, if he ſaw the length of this letter, he would think it enough for one of a family to be perſecuted by ſo voluminous a ſcribler, and would be glad that I ſpared him. I am both his and,

Dear Sir,

Your moſt affectionate

and moſt humble ſervant,

JOHN LOCKE.

Mr. Molyneux *to Mr.* Locke.

Dear Sir, *Dublin, March* 15. 169⅔.

IN the midſt of my trouble for your long ſilence, ſoon after I had writ to two or three Friends to inquire after your health, I was happily reliev'd by yours of laſt *January* the 10. from *Oates*. I am heartily concern'd that you paſt over the laſt winter with ſo much indiſpoſition; but I rejoice with you that you have ſcaped it, and hope you will yet paſs over many more. I could make to you great complaints likewiſe of my own late illneſs; but they are all drown'd in this one, that I am hinder'd for a while in ſeeking a remedy for them. I fully purpoſed to be at the *Bath* this ſpring early, but I am diſappointed at preſent, and cannot ſtir from hence till my lord chancellor *Methwin* return to this kingdom. It has pleaſed the young Lord *Woodſtock*, by directions from his Majeſty, to chuſe my lord chancellor *Methwin*, Mr. *Van Homrigh* preſent lord mayor of this city, and my ſelf, to be his guardians, and managers of his affairs in this kingdom. Nothing can be done without two of us; ſo I am ty'd by the Leg. Were it only in my health that I am diſappointed, I could the eaſier bear it; but I am delay'd from embracing my

dear Friend, which is moſt grievous of all. Yet I hope it will be ſo but for a time; for if my lord chancellor comes over in any convenient ſeaſon, I will certainly get looſe. But this I cannot hope for till the parliament in *England* riſes. I ſhould be glad to know from you when that is expected; for indeed they bear very hard upon us in *Ireland*. How juſtly they can bind us without our *conſent* and *repreſentatives*, I leave the *author* of the *two treatiſes of government* to conſider. But of this I ſhall trouble you farther another time, for you will hear more hereafter.

I have ſeen the Bp. of *Worceſter*'s *anſwer* to your *ſecond Letter*. 'Tis of a piece with the reſt, and you know my thoughts of them already. I begin to be almoſt of old *Hobbs*'s opinion, that were it mens intereſt, they would queſtion the truth of *Euclid*'s *Elements*, as now they conteſt almoſt as full evidences.

I am very glad Monſ. *Coſte* is ſo well ſetled as you tell me: I deſign'd fully to invite him over hither; and if you know any other ingenious *French* man of that ſort, or any ſuch hereafter comes to your knowledge, I ſhould be very glad you would give me intimation thereof.

I had certainly anſwer'd that part of your letter relating to the linen manufa-

ſture, but that I daily expected to do it more effectually by Mr. *Hamilton* himſelf, who gave me hopes of his going into *England*, and was reſolv'd perſonally to wait on you about it. He is maſter of the whole myſtery (and that I cannot pretend to be) and would have diſcours'd you moſt ſatiſfactorily concerning it. I promiſed him a letter to you whenever he goes over, which will now be very ſpeedily, and then I doubt not but you will concert matters together much for the good of this poor kingdom.

My brother gives you his moſt humble ſervice, and thanks you for the care you took about his diſcourſe concerning *Chaffers* We hear from Dr. *Sloan* that it is printed. I am

Your moſt humble ſervant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr.

Mr. LOCKE *to Mr.* MOLYNEUX.

Dear Sir, *Oates, 6 April.* 1698.

THere is none of the letters that ever I receiv'd from you gave me ſo much trouble as your laſt of *March* 15th. I was told that you reſolv'd to come into *England* early in the ſpring, and lived in the hopes of it more than you can imagine. I do not mean that I had greater hopes of it than you can imagine; but it enliven'd me, and contributed to the ſupport of my ſpirits more than you can think. But your letter has quite dejected me again. The thing I above all things long for is to ſee, and embrace, and have ſome diſcourſe with you before I go out of this world. I meet with ſo few capable of truth, or worthy of a free converſation, ſuch as becomes lovers of truth, that you cannot think it ſtrange if I wiſh for ſome time with you for the expoſing, ſifting, and rectifying of my thoughts. If they have gone any thing farther in the diſcovery of truth than what I have already publiſhed, it muſt be by your encouragement that I muſt go on to finiſh ſome things that I have already begun, and with you I hop'd to diſcourſe my other yet crude and imperfect thoughts, in which if there were any thing

uſeful

uſeful to mankind, if they were open'd and depoſited with you, I know them ſafe lodg'd for the advantage of truth ſome time or other. For I am in doubt whether it be fit for me to trouble the preſs with any new matter; or if I did, I look on my life as ſo near worn out, that it would be folly to hope to finiſh any thing of moment in the ſmall remainder of it. I hoped therefore, as I ſaid, to have ſeen you, and unravel'd to you that which lying in the lump unexplicated in my mind, I ſcarce yet know what it is my ſelf; for I have often had experience, that a man cannot well judge of his own notions, till either by ſetting them down in paper, or in diſcourſing them to a friend, he has drawn them out, and as it were ſpread them fairly before himſelf. As for writing, my ill health gives me little heart or opportunity for it; and of ſeeing you I begin now to deſpair: And that which very much adds to my affliction in the caſe is, that you neglect your own health on conſiderations, I am ſure, that are not worth your health; for nothing, if expectations were certainties, can be worth it. I ſee no likelihood of the Parliament's riſing yet this good while; and when they are up, who knows whether the man, you expect to relieve you, will come to you preſently, or at all. You muſt therefore lay

by

by that buſineſs for a while which detains you, or get ſome other body into it, if you will take that care of your health this ſummer which you deſign'd, and it ſeems to require: and if you defer it till the next, who knows but your care of it may then come too late. There is nothing that we are ſuch ſpendthrifts of as of health; we ſpare every thing ſooner than that, tho' whatever we ſacrifice it to is worth nothing without it. Pardon me the liberty I take with you: You have given me an intereſt in you; and it is a thing of too much value to me to look coldly on whilſt you are running into any inconvenience or danger, and ſay nothing. If that could be any ſpur to you to haſten your journy hither, I would tell you I have an *anſwer* ready for the preſs, which I ſhould be glad you ſhould ſee firſt. It is too long: The plenty of matter, of all ſorts, which the Gentleman affords me, is the cauſe of its too great length, tho' I have paſs'd by many things worthy of remarks: But what may be ſpared, of what there is, I would be glad ſhould be blotted out by your hand. But this between us.

Amongſt other things I would be glad to talk with you about before I die, is that which you ſuggeſt at the bottom of the firſt page of your letter. I am mightily concern'd

cern'd for the place meant in the queſtion you ſay you will ask the author of the treatiſe you mention, and wiſh extremely well to it; and would be very glad to be inform'd by you what would be beſt for it, and debate with you the ways to compoſe it. But this cannot be done by letters, the ſubject is of too great extent, the views too large, and the particulars too many to be ſo manag'd. Come therefore your ſelf, and come as well prepar'd in that matter as you can. But if you talk with others on that point there, mention not me to any body on that ſubject; only let you and I try what good we can do for thoſe whom we wiſh well to. Great things have ſometimes been brought about from ſmall beginnings well laid together.

Pray preſent my moſt humble ſervice to your Brother; I ſhould be glad of an opportunity to do him ſome ſervice. That which he thanks me for in my care about his diſcourſe concerning the *Chaffers*, was a ſervice to the publick, and he owes me no thanks for it. I am, Dear Sir,

Your faithful, and moſt humble ſervant,

JOHN LOCKE.

Mr.

Mr. Molyneux *to Mr.* Locke.

Moſt honour'd dear Sir, *Dubl. Apr.* 19. 1698.

I Have formerly had thoughts of coming into *England*, as I have told you, on occaſion of my health. But ſince the receipt of yours of *Apr.* 6. which came to my hands but this morning, that conſideration weighs but little with me. The deſire of ſeeing and converſing with you has drown'd all other expectations from my journy, and now I am reſolv'd to accompliſh it, let what will come on't. Your perſuaſions and arguments I think have ſomething in them of incantation: I am ſure their charms are ſo powerful on me on all occaſions, I can never reſiſt them. I ſhall therefore embrace you, God willing, as ſoon as ever the parliament of *England* riſes. I fix this period now, not ſo much in expectation of our chancellor's arrival, as on another account. My dear friend muſt therefore know, that the conſideration of what I mention'd in my laſt, from the incomparable author of the *Treatiſe*, &c. has moved me to put pen to paper, and commit ſome thoughts of mine on that ſubject to the preſs in a ſmall 8vo, entitul'd, *The Caſe of* Ireland's *being bound by Acts of Parliament in* England, *ſtated.* This you'll ſay

is a nice ſubject, but I think I have treated it with that caution and ſubmiſſion, that it cannot juſtly give any offence; inſomuch that I ſcruple not to put my name to it, and, by advice of ſome good friends here, have preſumed to dedicate it to his Majeſty. I have order'd ſome of them to Mr. *Churchill* to be preſented to you, and ſome of your Friends; and they are now upon the road towards you. I have been very free in giving you my thoughts on your pieces; I ſhould be extremely obliged to you for the like freedom on your ſide upon mine. I cannot pretend this to be an accompliſh'd performance, it was done in haſte, and intended to overtake the proceedings at *Weſtminſter*; but it comes too late for that: What effect it may poſſibly have in time to come, God and the wiſe council of *England* only knows; but were it again under my hands, I could conſiderably amend and add to it. But till I either ſee how the Parliament at *Weſtminſter* is pleas'd to take it, or till I ſee them riſen, I do not think it adviſable for me to go on t'other ſide the Water. Tho' I am not apprehenſive of any miſchief from them, yet God only knows what reſentments captious men may take on ſuch occaſions.

My Brother gives you his moſt reſpectful ſervice: He has now ready a diſcourſe on

our

our *Giants Causway*, which indeed is a stupendous natural rarity: He has address'd it to Dr. *Lister*; but you will soon see it in the *Transactions*.

Mr. *Burridge* goes on now with some speed: I had lately an occasion of writing to Mr. *Churchill*, and I gave him an account of his progress. I hope the whole will be finish'd soon after midsummer; and indeed in my opinion he performs it incomparably. I am,

Dear Sir,

Your most affectionate humble servant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr. LOCKE *to Mr.* MOLYNEUX.

Dear Sir, *London, 9 July.* 1698.

I Am just come to *London*, where your former promise, and what Mr. *Churchill* since tells me, makes me hope to see you speedily. I long mightily to welcome you hither, and do remit to that happy time abundance that I have to say to you. For I am,

Dear Sir,

Your most affectionate humble servant,

JOHN LOCKE.

Mr.

Mr. MOLYNEUX *to Mr.* LOCKE.

Honoured dear Sir, *Dublin, Sept.* 20. 1698.

I Arrived here ſafely the 15th inſtant, and now that the ruffling and fatigue of my journy is a little over, I ſit down to a taſk which I muſt confeſs is the hardeſt I was ever under in my life; I mean, expreſſing my thanks to you ſutable to the favours I received from you, and ſutable to the inward ſenſe I have of them in my mind. Were it poſſible for me to do either, I ſhould be in ſome meaſure ſatisfy'd; but my inability of paying my debts makes me aſhamed to appear before my creditor. However, thus much with the ſtricteſt ſincerity I will venture to aſſert to you, that I cannot recollect through the whole courſe of my life ſuch ſignal inſtances of real friendſhip, as when I had the happineſs of your company for five weeks together in *London.* 'Tis with the greateſt ſatisfaction imaginable that I recollect what then paſs'd between us, and I reckon it the happieſt ſcene of my whole life. That part thereof eſpecially which I paſt at *Oates*, has made ſuch an agreeable impreſſion on my mind, that nothing can be more pleaſing. To all in that excellent family I beſeech you give my moſt humble reſpects. 'Tis my duty

to

to make my acknowledgments there in a particular letter; but I beg of you to make my excuse for omitting it at this time, because I am a little press'd by some business that is thrown upon me since my arrival. To which also you are obliged for not being troubled at present with a more tedious letter from,

SIR,

Your most obliged,

and entirely affectionate

friend and servant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr. LOCKE *to Mr.* MOLYNEUX.

Dear Sir, *London, 29 Sept. 1698.*

YOurs of the 20th has now discharg'd me from my daily imployment of looking upon the weathercock and hearkening how loud the wind blow'd. Tho' I do not like this distance, and such a ditch betwixt us, yet I am glad to hear that you are safe and sound on t'other side the water. But pray speak not in so magnificent and courtly

 a style

a ſtyle of what you receiv'd from me here. I lived with you and treated you as my friend, and therefore us'd no ceremony, nor can receive any thanks but what I owe you doubly both for your company, and the pains you were at to beſtow that happineſs on me. If you keep your word, and do me the ſame kindneſs again next year, I ſhall have reaſon to think you value me more than you ſay, tho' you ſay more than I can with modeſty read.

I find you were befet with buſineſs when you writ your letter to me, and do not wonder at it; but yet for all that I cannot forgive your ſilence concerning your health and your ſon. My ſervice to him, your brother, and Mr. *Burridge*, and do me the juſtice to believe that I am with a perfect affection,

Dear Sir,

Your moſt humble, and

moſt faithful ſervant,

JOHN LOCKE.

Mr.

Mr. Locke *to Mr.* Burridge.

SIR, *Oates*, 27. *Oct.* 1698.

YOu guessed not amiss, when you said in the beginning of yours of the 13th instant, that you gave me the trouble of a letter; for I have received few letters in my life the contents whereof have so much troubled and afflicted me as that of yours. I parted with my excellent friend when he went from *England*, with all the hopes and promises to my self of seeing him again, and enjoying him longer the next spring. This was a satisfaction that help'd me to bear our separation; and the short taste I had of him here in this our first interview, I hoped would be made up in a longer conversation, which he promised me the next time: But it has served only to give me a greater sense of my loss in an eternal farewel in this world. Your earlier acquaintance may have given you a longer knowledge of his virtue and excellent endowments, a fuller sight or greater esteem of them you could not have than I. His worth and his friendship to me made him an inestimable treasure, which I must regret the loss of, the little remainder of my life, without any hopes of repairing it any way. I should be glad if what I owed the father could enable me to

do any ſervice to his ſon. He deſerves it for his own ſake (his father has more than once talked to me of him) as well as for his father's. I deſire you therefore to aſſure thoſe who have the care of him, that if there be any thing wherein I at this diſtance may be any way ſerviceable to young Mr. *Molyneux*, they cannot do me a greater pleaſure than to give me the opportunity to ſhew that my friendſhip died not with him.

Pray give my moſt humble ſervice to Dr. *Molyneux* and to his Nephew. I am,

SIR,

Your moſt faithful and

humble ſervant,

JOHN LOCKE.

Dr.

Dr. MOLYNEUX *to Mr.* LOCKE.

SIR, *Dublin, Aug.* 27. 1692.

I'M very ſenſible of your great civility in remembring me upon ſo ſhort an acquaintance as I had with you in *Holland* ſo long time ſince; and I aſſure you without any complement, I reckon it amongſt the moſt fortunate accidents of my life, my ſo luckily falling into your converſation, which was ſo candid, diverting and inſtructive, that I ſtill reap the benefit and ſatisfaction of it. Some years after I left you in *Holland*, upon my return for *England*, I contracted no ſmall intimacy with Dr. *Sydenham*, on the account of having been known to you his much eſteemed friend, and I found him ſo accurate an obſerver of diſeaſes, ſo throughly ſkill'd in all uſeful knowledge of his profeſſion, and withal ſo communicative, that his acquaintance was a very great advantage to me: and all this I chiefly owe to you, Sir, beſides the information of many uſeful truths, and a great deal of very pleaſing entertainment I have met with in the peruſal of your lately publiſh'd writings: So that on many accounts I muſt needs ſay, there are very few men in the world, to

whom I can with the like ſincerity profeſs my ſelf to be, as I am,

Dear Sir,

Your moſt real friend, and

very humble and obliged ſervant,

THO. MOLYNEUX.

Mr. LOCKE *to Dr.* MOLYNEUX.

SIR, *Oates, 1 Nov. 1692.*

THe indiſpoſition of my health, which drove me out of *London*, and keeps me ſtill in the country, muſt be an excuſe for my ſo long ſilence. The very great civility you expreſs to me in your letter makes me hope your pardon for the ſlowneſs of my anſwer, whereby I hope you will not meaſure the eſteem and reſpect I have for you. That your own diſtinguiſhing merit amongſt the reſt of my countrymen I met with at *Leyden*, has ſo ſettl'd in me, that before the occaſion your brother's favour lately gave me to enquire after you, I often remember'd you, and 'twas not without regret I conſider'd you at a diſtance that allow'd me not the hopes of renewing and improving my acquaintance with you. There being nothing I value ſo much as ingenuous know-

ing

ing men, think it not ſtrange that I laid hold on the firſt opportunity to bring my ſelf again into your thoughts. You muſt take it as an exerciſe of your goodneſs drawn on you by your own merit: For whatever ſatisfaction I gain to my ſelf in having recover'd you again, I can propoſe no advantage to you in the offer of a very uſeleſs and infirm acquaintance, who can only boaſt that he very much eſteems you.

That which I always thought of Dr. *Sydenham* living, I find the world allows him now he is dead, and that he deſerved all that you ſay of him. I hope the age has many who will follow his example, and by the way of accurate practical obſervation, as he has ſo happily begun, enlarge the hiſtory of diſeaſes, and improve the art of phyſick, and not by ſpeculative hypotheſes fill the world with uſeleſs, tho' pleaſing viſions. Something of this kind permit me to promiſe my ſelf one day from your judicious pen. I know nothing that has ſo great an encouragement from the good of mankind as this.

I beg you to preſent my moſt humble ſervice to your brother, whom I forbear now to interrupt, in the midſt of his parliamentary affairs, whereof I know a great part muſt fall to his ſhare, with my thanks for the favour of his of 15th *Oct.* which lately found

me out ſafe here. Let him know that I am exceedingly ſenſible of the obligation, and ſhall at large make my acknowledgments to him as ſoon as good manners will allow it. I am,

SIR,

Your moſt humble, and

moſt faithful ſervant

JOHN LOCKE.

Dr. MOLYNEUX *to Mr.* LOCKE.

SIR, *Dublin, Dec.* 20. 1692.

I'M much concern'd to hear you have your health no better, and on this occaſion cannot but deplore the great loſſes the intellectual world in all ages has ſuffer'd, by the ſtrongeſt and ſoundeſt minds poſſeſſing the moſt infirm and ſickly bodies. Certainly there muſt be ſome very powerful cauſe for this in nature, or elſe we could not have ſo many inſtances, where the knife cuts the ſheath, as the *French* materially expreſs it: and if ſo, this muſt be reckon'd among the many other inſeparable miſeries that attend human affairs.

I could wiſh the phyſicians art were ſo

power-

powerful and perfect, as in ſome meaſure to prevent ſo great an evil; but we find where once nature, or the *œconomia animalis* of the body is ſo depraved, as not to cooperate with medicine, all remedies, and the courſes of them prove wholly ineffectual, or to very little purpoſe. But ſtill the more imperfect phyſick is, ſo much the more is owing to thoſe who the leaſt improve ſo difficult a province, which certainly has been conſiderably advanced by ſome late *Engliſh* authors; and that puts me in mind to deſire of you your thoughts, or what other learned phyſicians you converſe with ſay, concerning Dr. *Morton* and his late *Exercitations on Fevers.* As for his *general Theory* of them, I eſteem it, as all others of this kind, a ſort of mere waking dream, that men are ſtrangely apt to fall into, when they think long of a ſubject, beginning quite at the wrong end; for by framing ſuch conceits in their phancies, they vainly think to give their underſtandings light, whilſt the things themſelves are ſtill, and perhaps ever muſt remain in darkneſs.

In his firſt exercitation that treats of *Agues* I don't find he has ſaid any thing very material or worth notice, that the world did not ſufficiently know before, unleſs it were ſome hiſtories of the irregular ſhapes and ſymptoms this diſtemper appears under,

under, which I think may be very instructive to the physician, and of great ease and advantage to the sick.

But his practical remarks in his second exercitation about *continuing and remitting Fevers*, if they be judiciously founded upon many and steddy observations, so that they may safely pass into a rule, must certainly be of great moment in directing the management and cure of fevers. I confess my experience in this distemper as yet falls something too short for to determine positively whether all his observations be real and well grounded; but as far as I can judge at present, several of them do hold good.

I remember to have heard Dr. *Morton* was once a *presbyterian* preacher; and tho' he were, this does not make him a jot the less capable in above 20 years practice to have carefully observ'd the accidents that naturally occur in the progress of a disease; and if he be but a true and judicious register 'tis all I desire from him.

You see I have taken great freedom in giving a character according to my apprehensions of this author, but 'tis only to encourage you to use the same liberty; for if at your leisure you would let me know your own thoughts, or what other candid men say concerning him and his methods of cure, or any other useful tract that

comes

comes abroad, you will extremely oblige,

SIR,

Your very obedient humble servant,

T. MOLYNEUX.

Mr. LOCKE *to Dr.* MOLYNEUX.

SIR, *Oates, 20. Jan. 169⅞.*

I Must acknowledge the care you take of my health in a way wherein you so kindly apply to my mind; and if I could persuade my self that my weak constitution was owing to that strength of mind you ascribe to me, or accompany'd with it, I should find therein, if not a remedy, yet a great relief against the infirmities of my body. However, I am not the less oblig'd to you for so friendly an application; and if the cordial you prescribe be not to be had (for I know none equal to a judicious and capacious mind) your kindness is not to be blamed, who I am confident wish me that satisfaction, or any thing else that would contribute to my health.

The doctor, concerning whom you enquire of me, had, I remember, when I liv'd in town and convers'd among the physicians there, a good reputation amongst those of his own faculty. I can say nothing of his

late

late book of *Fevers*, having not read it my ſelf, nor heard it ſpoke of by others: But I perfectly agree with you concerning general theories, that they are for the moſt part but a ſort of waking dreams, with which when men have warm'd their own heads, they paſs into unqueſtionable truths, and then the ignorant world muſt be ſet right by them. Tho' this be, as you rightly obſerve, beginning at the wrong end, when men lay the foundation in their own phanſies, and then endeavour to ſute the *phænomena* of diſeaſes, and the cure of them, to thoſe phanſies. I wonder that, after the pattern Dr. *Sydenham* has ſet them of a better way, men ſhould return again to that romance way of phyſick. But I ſee it is eaſier and more natural for men to build caſtles in the air of their own, than to ſurvey well thoſe that are to be found ſtanding. Nicely to obſerve the hiſtory of diſeaſes in all their changes and circumſtances, is a work of time, accurateneſs, attention, and judgment; and wherein if men, thro' prepoſſeſſion or oſcitancy miſtake, they may be convinced of their error by unerring nature and matter of fact, which leaves leſs room for the ſubtlety and diſpute of words, which ſerves very much inſtead of knowledge in the learned world, where methinks wit and invention has much the preference to truth.

Upon

Upon ſuch grounds as are the eſtabliſh'd hiſtory of diſeaſes *hypotheſes* might with leſs danger be erected, which I think are ſo far uſeful, as they ſerve as an art of memory to direct the phyſician in particular caſes, but not to be rely'd on as foundations of reaſoning, or verities to be contended for; they being, I think I may ſay all of them, ſuppoſitions taken up *gratis*, and will ſo remain, till we can diſcover how the natural functions of the body are perform'd, and by what alteration of the humors or defects in the parts they are hinder'd or diſorder'd. To which purpoſe I fear the *Galeniſts* four humors, or the chymiſts *ſal*, *ſulphur*, and *mercury*, or the late prevailing invention of acid and alcali, or whatever hereafter ſhall be ſubſtituted to theſe with new applauſe, will upon examination be found to be but ſo many learned empty ſounds, with no preciſe determinate ſignification. What we know of the works of nature, eſpecially in the conſtitution of health, and the operations of our own bodies, is only by the ſenſible effects, but not by any certainty we can have of the tools ſhe uſes, or the ways ſhe works by. So that there is nothing left for a phyſician to do, but to obſerve well, and ſo by analogy argue to like caſes, and thence make to himſelf rules of practice: and he that is this way moſt ſagacious will, I imagine,

make

make the best physician, tho' he should entertain distinct hypotheses concerning distinct species of diseases, subservient to this end, that were inconsistent one with another, they being made use of in those several sorts of diseases but as distinct arts of memory in those cases. And I the rather say this, that they might be rely'd on only as artificial helps to a physician, and not as philosophical truths to a naturalist. But, Sir, I run too far, and must beg your pardon for talking so freely on a subject you understand so much better than I do. I hoped the way of treating of diseases, which with so much approbation Dr. *Sydenham* had introduc'd into the world, would have beaten the other out, and turn'd men from visions and wrangling to observation and endeavouring after settl'd practices in more diseases, such as I think he has given us in some. If my zeal for the saving mens lives and preserving their health (which is infinitely to be prefer'd to any speculations never so fine in physick) has carried me too far, you will excuse it in one who wishes well to the practice of physick, tho' he meddles not with it. I wish you, and your brother, and all yours a very happy new year, and am,

SIR,

Your most humble and faithful servant,

JOHN LOCKE.

Mr.

Dr. MOLYNEUX *to Mr.* LOCKE.

SIR, *Dublin, Nov.* 4. 1693.

FOR a while I defer'd making any return for the favour of your last letter, on the account I understood by one of yours to my brother, that I was suddenly to expect another obligation from you, by the receipt of your treatise of *Education*, which yesterday first came to my hands; and now I return you my hearty thanks for both your kindnesses together, of which should I express the real thoughts I have, I should seem to run either into extravagant complement, or gross flattery: But thus much I must needs say, that as your letter certainly contains in short the only true method for the prosecuting the curing part of the practice of physick, and the sure way of improving it; a matter of the chiefest good in relation to mens bodies: so your book of *Education* lays down such rules for the breeding of youth, as, if follow'd, must necessarily prove of the greatest advantage to the better part of man, the mind; by insensibly disposing it to an habitual exercise of what is vertuous and laudable, and the acquisition of all such knowledge as is necessary for one's own good, or that of others whom we are to converse with.

Whence

Whence I can't but think, had thoſe of our own countries but a thorough perſuaſion, and a right ſenſe of the great benefit that redounds from a careful education, ſo as univerſally to put it in practice, without queſtion we ſhould ſoon become a nation as remarkably different from the reſt of the world for the inward endowments of our minds, and the rectitude of our manners, as the negro's are from the reſt of mankind for their outward ſhape and colour of body. But this I fear is a happineſs only to be wiſhed for; however, he that makes it his endeavour to promote ſo great a good, by ſhewing the certain way to it, if they will follow him, juſtly deſerves the high eſteem of all that know how to value a truly publick ſpirit.

I hope, Sir, you have your health better, and that we may ſuddenly have abroad your *Eſſay of Human Underſtanding*, with thoſe farther additions and alterations you have ſome while ſince deſign'd for the preſs: I'm confident 'tis impatiently expected by all that are acquainted with your writings, and that peculiar clear manner of delivering truth you are ſo much maſter of, but by none more than,

SIR,

Your moſt faithful humble ſervant,

THO. MOLYNEUX.

Dr.

Dr. MOLYNEUX *to Mr.* LOCKE.

SIR, *Dublin, Oct.* 25. 1697.

I Should oftner make acknowledgments to you for your favours, and expreſs the great eſteem I bear you, but that this barren place affords little elſe to ſay; and this I can't think reaſon enough to trouble one ſo buſy and uſefully engaged as you always are. Yet I would not omit thanking you, by this worthy Gentleman Mr. *Berrisford* your acquaintance, for a preſent of a book I underſtand by my brother you deſigned for me, tho' I was ſo unlucky as to miſs of it; and alſo communicate to you the incloſed letter, which the biſhop of *Clogher* was pleaſed (perhaps out of his too partial friendſhip) to tell me deſerved to be made publick, and deſired me accordingly to tranſmit it to Dr. *Sloane:* But this I would not do, unleſs it have your approbation alſo; ſo that 'tis wholly at your diſpoſal to do with it as you pleaſe, as is likewiſe

SIR,

Your very affectionate friend,

and humble ſervant,

THO. MOLYNEUX.

Mr. LOCKE *to Dr.* MOLYNEUX.

SIR, *Oates*, 27 *Oct.* 1698.

DEath has with a violent hand haſtily ſnatch'd from you a dear brother. I doubt not but on this occaſion you need all the conſolation can be given to one unexpectedly bereft of ſo worthy and near a relation. Whatever inclination I may have to alleviate your ſorrow, I bear too great a ſhare in the loſs, and am too ſenſibly touch'd with it my ſelf to be in a condition to diſcourſe you on this ſubject, or do any thing but mingle my tears with yours. I have loſt in your brother, not only an ingenious and learned acquaintance, that all the world eſteem'd; but an intimate and ſincere friend, whom I truly lov'd, and by whom I was truly loved: and what a loſs that is, thoſe only can be ſenſible who know how valuable and how ſcarce a true friend is, and how far to be prefer'd to all other ſorts of treaſure. He has left a ſon who I know was dear to him, and deſerv'd to be ſo as much as was poſſible for one of his age. I cannot think my ſelf wholly incapacitated from paying ſome of the affection and ſervice was due from me to my dear friend as long as he has a child or a brother in the world. If therefore

there be any thing at this diſtance wherein I in my little ſphere may be able to ſerve your nephew or you, I beg you by the memory of our deceaſed friend to let me know it, that you may ſee that one who loved him ſo well cannot but be tenderly concern'd for his ſon, nor be otherwiſe than I am,

SIR,

Your moſt humble, and

moſt affectionate ſervant,

JOHN LOCKE.

Dr. MOLYNEUX *to Mr.* LOCKE.

SIR, *Dublin, Nov.* 26. 1698.

AS you have a true ſenſe of every thing, ſo you were very much in the right, when you tell me in the letter you favour'd me with of the 27th of laſt month, that I needed all the conſolation could be given one that had loſt ſo unexpectedly a dear and only brother. His death indeed has been a ſevere affliction to me, and tho' I have you, and many more, that bear a great ſhare with me in my ſorrow, yet this does

no way alleviate it, but makes it fall the heavier upon me; for it doubles my grief to think what an unſpeakable loſs he muſt be to ſo near a relation, that is ſo much lamented by thoſe, that were only acquainted with him. I could not believe that mortality could have made ſo deep an impreſſion on me, whoſe profeſſion leads him into ſo thorough a familiarity with it; but I find a paſſionate affection ſurmounts all this, and the *tecum obeam lubens*, tho' it was the expreſſion of a poet, yet I am ſenſible was a very natural one where we love extremely, and the *Indians* prove it no leſs in fact. Could any outward circumſtance of his life have increaſed that brotherly affection I had for him, it muſt have been that he had ſo great a part in your friendſhip, who muſt be allow'd to have a nice judgment in diſcerning the true characters and worth of men. He frequently in his life-time has expreſſed to me with great complacency of mind, how happy he thought himſelf in your acquaintance, and he ſpoke of you ſeveral times during his ſhort ſickneſs, with great reſpect. With his own hand he has writ this clauſe in his Will: *I give and bequeath to my excellent friend* John Lock *Eſq; author of the* Eſſay concerning Human Underſtanding, *the ſum of five pound to buy him a ring, in memory of the value and eſteem I*

had

had for him. This I ſhall take care to ſend you in a bill by Mr. *Churchill*'s hands, when he ſtates the account as it ſtands between him and my brother. The only child he has left behind him is under my care and management. I ſhall endeavour to diſcharge this truſt, with all the regard to my brother's memory, and the advantage of his child, I can: But it grieves me to think, that I muſt ſurely fall very much ſhort of that extraordinary application and prudence his father would have ſhewn in his education; for he made it the chiefeſt, and indeed the only buſineſs of his life. I have made his little ſon as ſenſible as his tender age would allow, how much he is obliged to you his father's friend, for your earneſt deſire to ſerve him: I wiſh you may both prolong your lives ſo, as he may one day be more thankful and capable of your kindneſs by profiting much from your good inſtructions and advice. And ſince you ſo earneſtly preſs me by the memory of your deceaſed friend to let you know wherein you might oblige me, I'll venture to break the bounds of modeſty ſo far, as to tell you I ſhould be extremely pleas'd to receive from your ſelf the laſt edition of your incomparable *Eſſay of Human Underſtanding*, and ſuch other pieces of your works as you ſhall think fit; for all which as I have a great

eſteem, ſo I ſhould have a more particular regard coming from your ſelf, as a private memorial of my dear brother's friend, and of a perſon for whom I have ſuch an extraordinary value, as I ſhall ever be proud of owning my ſelf,

SIR,

Your truly affectionate,

and humble ſervant,

THO. MOLYNEUX.

Mr. LOCKE *to Dr.* MOLYNEUX.

SIR, *Oates* 25. *Jan.* 169$^{8}_{9}$.

I Have been ſlower in returning you my thanks for the favour of your letter of the 26th of *Nov.* and the civilities you expreſs to me in it, than perhaps I ſhould have been. But the truth is, my thoughts never look towards *Dublin* now, without caſting ſuch a cloud upon my mind, and laying ſuch a load of freſh ſorrow on me for the loſs of my dear friend your brother, that I cannot without diſpleaſure turn them that way;

way; and when I do it I find my ſelf very unfit for converſation and the entertainment of a friend. 'Tis therefore not without pain that I bring my ſelf to write you a ſcurvy letter. What there wants in it of expreſſion, you muſt make up out of the eſteem I have for the memory of our common friend; and I deſire you not to think my reſpects to you the leſs, becauſe the loſs of your brother makes me not able to ſpeak them as I would.

Since you are pleaſed to put ſuch a value on my trifles, I have given order to Mr. *Churchill* to ſend you my laſt *Reply to the Biſhop of Worceſter*, and the laſt edition of my treatiſe of *Education*, which came forth ſince Mr. *Molyneux*'s death. I ſend this with the more confidence to you, becauſe your brother told me more than once that he followed the method I therein offer to the world, in the breeding of his ſon. I wiſh you may find it fit to be continued to him, and uſeful to you in his education; for I cannot but be mightily concerned for the ſon of ſuch a father, and wiſh that he may grow up into that eſteem and character, which his father left behind him amongſt all good men who knew him. As for my *Eſſay concerning Human Underſtanding*, it is now out of print, and if it were not, I think I ſhould make you but an ill comple-

ment in ſending it you leſs perfect than I deſign it ſhould be in the next edition, in which I ſhall make many additions to it: And when it is as perfect as I can make it, I know not whether in ſending it you I ſhall not load you with a troubleſome and uſeleſs preſent. But ſince by deſiring it you ſeem to promiſe me your acceptance, I ſhall as ſoon as it is reprinted take the liberty to thruſt it into your ſtudy. I am,

SIR,

Your moſt humble, and

faithful ſervant,

JOHN LOCKE.

PHILIPPO

PHILIPPO *à* LIMBORCH
JOANNES LOCKE *S.P.D.*

CUm ante dies decem ad amicum noſtrum Dm. Guenellon ſcripſi, facile credes quòd te, V. C. non inſalutatum præteriverim: verùm mei officii tuorumque beneficiorum ratio poſtulat a me aliam & ſalutandi & gratias agendi methodum, ne aut obiter aut negligenter id quod mihi maximè incumbit agere videar. Præſertim cùm Guenellon noſtri ſilentium me incertum reddat an meæ ad ipſum pervenerint literæ, quas ſane minime vellem intercidiſſe; ne vobis omnibus quibus tot nominibus obſtrictus ſum, aut parùm memor aut parùm gratus appaream, credatiſque paucarum horarum intervallum ex animo meo tot tantorumque beneficiorum deleviſſe memoriam, quam nulla temporis diuturnitas unquam delere valebit. In iis etiam ſignificavi quàm humaniter tuus Vander Key me excepit, quàm officiosè adjuvit, quo nomine hic tibi gratias iterùm agendas ſuadet viri iſtius ſumma humanitas, quanquam illud

illud parum eſt, ſi cum maximo beneficiorum tuorum cumulo conferatur. D^m Veenium & optimam illius fœminam, quibus ſalutem verbis non facilè reperio, cùm nulla ſint quæ aut illorum beneficia, aut eas quas habeo & ſemper habebo gratias æquare poſſint, tuis tamen rogo quibus potes verbis maximè ornes. Ut me hîc ulteriùs pergentem detinuit valetudinis ratio ad D^m Guenellon ſcripſi. Amænitas loci, & ſi non deſidia, ſaltem quietis amor, & moleſtiæ quam in itinere perpeſſus ſum averſatio adhuc detinet. Deambulationes hîc, quibus quotidie prægreſſum ulciſcor otium, valdè jucundæ ſunt; ſed longè jucundiores forent ſi aliquot veſtrûm expatiandi haberem ſocios, quod tam mei quam veſtri cauſa continuò opto, præſertim ſic favente cœlo: nec enim credo ſanitati incommodum eſſet præſertim D^e Guenellon, cujus infirmis pulmonibus & valetudini parùm robuſtæ prodeſſet maximè credo hic ſerenus & liber aër. Quid agatur apud vos, præſertim noſtrorum reſpectu, ad me perſcribas rogo; præſertim me de tua amicorumque noſtrorum valetudine certiorem facias. Sum

Cleve 28 *Sept.* 1685.

Tui obſervantiſſimus,

J. LOCKE.

PHI-

PHILIPPO *à* LIMBORCH
JOANNES LOCKE *S.P.D.*

DUas à te, vir ampliſſime, officii & benevolentiæ plenas hîc accepi literas, nec ingratus tibi videbor ſpero, ſi ad ſingula, prout oportet, non fusè reſpondeam, temporis anguſtiâ impeditus. Hoc unum enixè rogo, ut des operam, ut de adventu Comitis Pembrokiæ per aliquem tuorum amicorum Hagæ degentium certior fiam, tranſmiſſo ea de re vel ad me vel ad te nuntio. Dux copiarum Britannicarum futurus huc adventat, & ſi jam non adeſt, quotidiè expectatur. Meâ multùm intereſt, ut quàm fieri poteſt, maturè illius acceſſum cognoſcam. Hoc cùm dixero ſatis ſcio te omnem curam operamque in eo locaturum, ut quàm celerrimè id mihi innoteſcat. De aliis aliàs, nam tabellarius diſcedit. Amicos meos meo nomine quàm officioſiſſimè quæſo ſalutes. Vale & me ut facis ama

Cleve 3 Octob. 1685.

Tui obſervantiſſimum,

J. LOCKE.

PHI-

PHILIPPO *à* LIMBORCH
JOANNES LOCKE *S.P.D.*

Vir clariſſime,

SI duabus tuis amiciſſimis epiſtolis parum vel nihil a me reſponſum eſt id inſtanti tabellarii diſceſſui imputes rogo, nec credas me tam rebus meis intentum, tuæ verò conſuetudinis & jucundiſſimi juxta ac doctiſſimi ſermonis negligentem, ut omnia de meis negotiis, de tuis gratiſſimis literis nihil dicerem, niſi gravis aliqua ſubeſſet cauſa cur de adventu Comitis Pembrokiæ quàm fieri potuit citiſſimè certior fierem. Sed jam, quò maximè propendet animus, ad te, vir optime, & ſcripta tua redeo, in quibus primò accuſo amicitiam tuam de me & meritis meis tam magnificè, de veſtris erga me officiis & beneficiis tam exiliter loquentem. Hi ſunt fateor magnæ & non fictæ amicitiæ aliquando errores de quibus ideo queror, ut mihi aliter de iiſdem rebus ſentienti ignoſcas, & me credas amicitiæ & gratitudinis dictata ſequi cùm in ea perſiſtam ſententiâ, aliqua me apud vos accepiſſe beneficia quibus reſpondere verbis nec poſſim nec debeam. Et niſi vos omnes in re, contra quam par eſt, voluntati meæ obſtare viderem tuam ego hîc opem implorarem ut

hanc

hanc mihi velles eximere ægritudinem, & tua authoritate, quà plurimum apud præſtantiſſimum Veenium polles, huic querelæ tam juſtæ finem imponeres. Si, quod videris promittere, ſed heu! longùm abeſt, his in collibus & ſylvarum umbra, tuâ frui daretur & amicorum noſtrorum conſuetudine, crederem ego ſpecimen aliquod aurei rediiſſe ſæculi. Nam virtus, benignitas, pax & fides in ſylvis ſolùm degebant, quibus in urbanorum hominum frequentia vix datur locus. Sic cecinerunt poëtæ: an aliquid aliud nos docent hiſtorici, hoc tempore non eſt mihi inquirendi animus. Gaudeo fratrem tuum convaluiſſe & ſine graviore aliquo ſymptomate. Locum illum Epiſtolæ tuæ ubi ſcriptorum tuorum memineris non ſine mœrore legi, ſentio quantam ex diſceſſu meo fecerim jacturam & voluptatis & eruditionis quòd non legerim reliqua tua ſcripta, ex quibus non minorem mihi lucem promitterem quàm ex jam lectis multo cum fructu percepiſſem. Si vis ut ſincerè & apertè dicam, nullibi reperi opiniones magis dilucidè propoſitas, argumentorum rationibus meliùs ſubnixas, a partium ſtudiis longiùs remotas, & veritati per omnia magis conformes. Hoc me ex animo proferre dubitare non potes, cùm me tam importunè tam deditâ operâ criticum tam paucis potuiſſe dentem malignum imprimere patet. Sed

me miſerum! magnam partem fructûs quem ex iſta mea critica ſeveritate mihi propoſui, perdidi. Plurima enim quæ inter legendum notaveram non tàm tui corrigendi quàm mei informandi feci animo, de quibus tecum ulteriùs inquirendum ſtatueram. Non eſt igitur quòd mihi tanto ardelioni gratias agas, ſatis eſt ſi vehementi nimis inquiſitori & culpandi anſas ſtudiosè quærenti ignoſcas. Quanquam non malè pictæ tabulæ indicium eſt ſi quis cogatur in ea quærere nævos. Utinam quæ ego meditor eo eſſent ſcripta idiomate ut tu poteris vices rependere, reperires te ulciſcendi copioſam materiam. Quod ſcribis de critici critico* facilè credo; quamprimùm enim attigi iſtum undecimæ epiſtolæ locum, videbar mihi audire obſtrepentium exclamationes quaſi de religione omninò actum eſſet, nôſti hujuſmodi hominum mores, quominùs heterodoxum aliquid poſſint refellere ne nihil in cauſa Dei agere videantur, tanto magis clamoribus, incuſationibus, calumniis inſurgunt. Fateor argumentum iſtud modeſtè proponendum fuiſſe, & cautè tractandum, ſed tamen ejuſmodi eſt ut mereatur tandem ſumma cum acribiâ diſcuti. Si omnia quæ in ſacris libris continentur pro theopneuſtis pariter habenda ſine omni diſcretione, magna

* *Sentimens de quelques Theologiens de Hollande ſur l'Hiſtoire critique du P. Simon.*

ſane

ſane præbetur philoſophis de fide & ſinceritate noſtra dubitandi anſa. Si è contrario quædam pro ſcriptis purè humanis habenda, ubi conſtabit ſcripturarum divina autoritas? ſine quâ corruet religio chriſtiana; quodnam erit criterium? quis modus? adeò ut in hac quæſtione, ſi qua alia, maximè fundamentali, ſummâ cum cautione, prudentiâ, modeſtiâ agendum, præſertim ab eo cui uti credo jam non nimium favent eccleſiaſticæ poteſtates & theologorum claſſes. Sed ſigna cecinerunt, & expectandus eſt conflictus. Ego qui ubique ſolam quæro veritatem, eamque quantùm capere poſſum, ſive inter orthodoxos reperio ſive heterodoxos, pariter amplector. Fateor aliqua eſſe in eo ſcripto quæ mihi plenè non ſatiſfaciunt, alia quibus reſpondere non poſſum, de illis ab authore libenter reſponſum acciperem, ſi commodum exiſtimas, de his tuum quæro judicium.

I. Ni fallor, author ſæpiùs utitur contra apoſtolorum continuam inſpirationem hoc argumento, quod ſc. multa ab illis dicta invenimus quæ ſine auxilio Spiritus Sancti dici poterant; quod tamen conceſſum contra divinam ſ. ſcripturæ authoritatem & Θεοπνευσίαν nihil concludit. Aſſeritur in ſ. ſcriptura conſtans per omnia & infallibilis veritas. Si quid autem dicit S. Paulus Act. xxiii. (V. p. 241.) quòd cœlitùs ipſi revela-

revelatum non erat, id nihil detrahit certitudini ſcripturæ, quandoquidem ejuſmodi res eſſet, quam certò & infallibiliter cognoſcere potuit ſine revelatione divina. Quæ ſenſibus & certa cognitione apoſtolis conſtabant non opus erat revelatione ut earum hiſtoria ab apoſtolis tradita pro indubitatâ haberetur. Itaque metuo ne homines ſuſpicentur hoc argumentum potiùs quæſitum quàm è re natum.

II. Explicatio illius promiſſi Joan. xvi. 13. quam fusè tradit p. 256. nequaquam mihi videtur poſſe accommodari apoſtolo Paulo, ſi quis attentè legat illius hiſtoriam Act. ix. & ſeq. Unde enim ille evangelii hoſtis, & ut ipſe alicubi fatetur, ignarus, poterat tam citò devenire myſteriorum evangelii interpres & præco ſine inſpiratione ſupernaturali & divinâ. V. Act. ix. 19, 20. Hæc aliqua eorum quæ mihi inter legendum parùm ſatisfecerunt, alia fuerunt quorum oblitus ſum: ſed quid ad hæc dicat author libenter ſcirem. Verùm cùm plurima alia ſunt quæ videntur omnimodam S. Sæ. infallibilitatem & inſpirationem in dubium vocare, quibus fateor me non poſſe reſpondere, enixè rogo ut quid ea de re ſentias mihi explicare non graveris: multa enim quæ in libris canonicis occurrebant jamdiu ante tractatus hujus lectionem dubium me & anxium tenuerunt, & gratiſſimum mihi facies ſi hunc

mihi

mihi adimas ſcrupulum. Cum ſumma quæſo amicitiæ, gratitudinis & exiſtimationis ſignificatione hanc incluſam hoſpiti meo optimo tradas. Illiuſque & tuam & Guenellionis fœminam meo nomine ſalutes reliquoſque noſtros omnes. Vale & longas epiſtolas ſcribenti ignoſcas, nam tecum loqui haud facile deſiſto.

Cleve, 6 *Oct.* 1685.

Tibi devotiſſimus,

J. LOCKE.

PHILIPPO *à* LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE *S.P.D.*

QUanquam longo uſu ad alia hujus vitæ incommoda occaluit aliquatenus mens mea, a conſuetudine tamen tua, vir doctiſſime & amicorum optime, me divelli ſine magna animi ægritudine pati non poſſum. Tu enim me eruditione tua inſtruere; judicio confirmare; conſilio dirigere; amicitia & comitate ſolari ſolebas, quotidianum curarum mearum perfugium: ſed ita plerumque mecum agi ſolet, ut ubi & quibuſ-

cum esse maximè cupio, refragante fortunâ rarò permissum sit. Devorandum igitur ut potero hujus absentiæ tædium, quod frequentibus tuis literis levare debes, jam præsertim dum tempus & otium tibi permittunt adversarii illi, qui domi suæ prælia tibi meditantur. Hoc te in quo jam sumus sæculo expectâsse non dubito. Si candidè & ut veritatis amici argumentorum pondere tecum agant, tibi scio non displicebunt, qui veritatem amplecteris undecunque venientem. Sin iracundè, veteratoriè, malignè paucis placebunt, nisi sui similibus; quicquid demum acciderit hoc certum est, quòd tu illæsus, victorque abibis, quia veritatem quæris non victoriam. Sed ut verum fatear, ego a rixosis hujusmodi disputatoribus non multum expecto, qui in alienis convellendis, non suis adstruendis quærunt gloriam. Artificis & laudem merentis est ædificare. Sed pugnaces hosce sibi & curis suis relinquamus. Si quid in B—— placidius & liberalius reperisti, gaudeo; pacificorum vellem quotidie augeri numerum, præsertim inter reformatos, inter quos nimium quotidiè feruntur lites. Inimicus homo facit hoc. Alterius sunt indolis amici quibus hîc te favente familiariter utor. Uterque Grævius salutem plurimam tibi dicit. Verrynium sæpius quæsitum nondum domi reperi; hujus septimanæ dies aliquot extra

urbem

urbem transegit, cùm domum redierit non diu insalutatum permittam. Vale cum tua tuisque, & me ama

Utrecht, 11 *Oct.* 1686. *Tui studiosissimum*,

J. LOCKE.

PHILIPPO *à* LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE *S.P.D.*

Vir reverendissime, amicissime, colendissime,

SIne fati & ineluctabili prædestinationis vi experior in me ipso, quomodo peccandi initia quandam sensim afferunt secum peccandi necessitatem. Literis tuis amicissimis 9. & 14. Febr. datis respondendi quamprimum eas acceperam ansam mihi eripuit rei alicujus agendæ importuna tum festinatio. Sed cùm peracto cum eo quocum mihi res erat negotio jam decessus illius in Angliam mihi fecerit otium, satis ad literas scribendas vacare mihi videor, nondum tamen nactus sum eam, quâ alias usum, scribendi libertatem. In hoc silentii crimen rebus aliis impeditus quasi inscius incidi miser, quod jam tempore auctum pene confirmat pudor. Sic delicta delictis cumulamus semel irretiti, & modesti pariter & pervica-

ces in vitiis ſuis indureſcunt. Vides quo in ſtatu jam ſum, & niſi credere me vis omnia certâ & immutabili neceſſitate evenire, negligentiæ huic meæ ignoſcere debes, ut redeat mihi antiqua mea apud te parrheſia. De Germana patrum theologia idem tecum planè ſentio. Maxima ſemper fuit ſemperque erit Germanorum natio, & pauci ſunt in tantâ ſcriptorum multitudine, qui non videntur eo ſub aëre nati. Sed me hac de re à tua opinione non eſſe alienum non multum miraberis. Aliquid amplius fateor eſt, quòd ego numeros tuos ſecretos notaverim, & quòd tu hoc obſervaveris. Cave tibi & ignoſce quamprimùm ſilentio meo, ne loquacitate tibi magis ſim moleſtus, vides me in ſecretiora tua penetrare. *Scire volunt ſecreta domus,*—— & nôſti quod ſequitur, —— *& inde timeri.* Magicæ hæ metuendæ ſunt artes nimis perſpicaces, quibus ego non parùm mihi placeo, quandoquidem ex tam jucundo tam laudabili enaſcuntur fonte, & id mihi teſtatum faciunt quod ante omnia cupio. Scio jam mentem meam a tuâ harmonicâ quadam ſympathiâ regi planè & gubernari. Sic me orthodoxum ſemper fore certum eſt, O! utinam eodem modo & ſciens fieri poſſem. Ut enim verum fatear inſcius tuis numeris uſus ſum, ſed gaudeo me prodiiſſe tenus; vellem & in aliis rebus hoc mihi accide-

accideret. Agnoſco genium tuum, cui me ducendum totum libenter traderem. Gratias ago quam maximas pro omni tua cura & opera, in literis, in libris, & aliis meis rebus locatâ. Utinam daretur & vices rependere. Vale & me ama

Tui amantiſſimum,

Rotterodami, Mar. 8. 16 $\frac{18}{5}$ 87 J. LOCKE.

PHILIPPO *à* LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE *S.P.D.*

QUid illo facies homine, qui nec cantare par eſt, nec reſpondere paratus? Quid juvat libertate a te ipſo conceſſâ uti ſine viribus ad ea quæ decent præſtanda neceſſariis? Jucundiſſima tua & floribus undique referta epiſtola ad ea quæ ſcribis iterum iterumque legenda maximè invitat, ut verò calamum ſumam & aliquid meo more reſcribam valdè dehortatur & deterret. Etſi enim grati ſit animi, argutis & facetis amici ſermonibus aliquid reſpondere, imprudentis tamen eſt & parùm pudici, ornatis incondita, urbanis agreſtia, pretioſis vilia vel in ipſo literarum commercio reponere. Fru-

ſtra igitur a te libertate donatus ſum, munus ſanè in ſpecie magnificum, ſed niſi aliquid de tuo etiam impertire poſſis ingenio, planè inutile, fruſtra enim accuſabis me tanquam in libertate tardum, cui tam parata & juſta ſit defenſio hebetem non debere eſſe loquacem, nec decere χάλκεα χρυσείων, ut ut enim eo modo liber ſim, parùm certè videbor liberalis. Novi animum tuum, novi ingenium & quam paratus ſis omnia ab amica voluntate profecta in bonam partem interpretari, hoc boni omnia conſulentis non parva laus eſt, ſed malè interim ſcribentis peſſima excuſatio. Eâ tamen fiduciâ fretus en te iterum compellare auſim melioribus ſtudiis vacantem, ſi quid in eo pecco nolo incuſare vim a fatis illatam, cauſam ſane, ſi qua ſit, omnium maximè improbam, ſed te ipſum, qui ab omni vi & coactione longiſſimè abes, tua humanitas, tua benevolentia, tui lepores cogunt ut agnoſcam & ut fatear me tibi gratias habere etiamſi referre non poſſim. Si his conditionibus mecum agere velis, en tibi ad legendas tuas epiſtolas paratiſſimum & cupidiſſimum: ad meas reſcribendas etiamſi cupiam tardum, & ſanè tam neceſſitate quam officio tardum. Tu cùm iſta excuſatione uti non potes, & maturè ſcribas rogo & abundè. Id ni facias audies me graviter querentem, te non præſtare & amico & egenti id quod potes & id quod

debes quia potes. Si jam inciperem iniquo jure communem inter nos colere amicitiam, hæc jam proponere vix animum inducerem; sed cùm hâc lege a primordiis amicitiæ semper viximus, ut tu properè & cumulatè omnia officia benevolentiæ præstares, ego vel in agnoscendo parcus & lentus essem, pati jam debes mores meos quantumvis malos vetustate jam confirmatos, in quibus nihil novum, nihil insolens reperies. Vides quocum tibi res est; in hac tamen culpa non prorsùs ingratus videri vellem, si id in se aliquid gratitudinis habet, ut qui eam qua se destitutum fatetur, in te miratur & amplectitur virtutem: in eâ quæro mihi patrocinium quod mihimet præstare non possum. Sed de me satis, ad majora nunc venio tua, scil. typographo haud parùm irascor quòd tuum, tam utile, tam doctum opus adeò procrastinet, spero jam accedente sole operarum diligentia incalescet. De Episcopii etiam tractatu gaudeo: de alio quod postulas tecum coram agam, ut enim quod res est fatear, scripseram priùs ad te nisi speraveram antehac me Amstelodamum accessurum, ut jucundissimâ illic amicorum consuetudine fruerer, imprimis tuâ, sine qua hi ipsi veris non amœnè transeunt dies. Vale, vir præstantissimè, & ut facis me ama

Tui studiosissimum,

Rotterodami, 16 *Maii* 1687. J. LOCKE.

PHILIPPO à LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE S.P.D.

NOnne ſatis tibi eſt, vir clariſſime, Judæum* viciſſe, niſi eodem opere inter Chriſtianos, tui amantiſſimum, tibi etiam prorſùs ſubjuges ? Diverſis fateor armis nos aggrederis, illum argumentis, me beneficiis obſtrictum tenes, è quibus ille ſe vix credo expediet ; ego certò de me pronuntiare poſſum, me tibi ſemper obnoxium futurum. Quid enim rependam viro cui non ſufficit me ſuis cumulare beneficiis, niſi inſuper me dignum reddere conetur, dum ſuas ſibi laudes ipſe detrahit, quibus me ornatum velit, & in earum partem, mihi non debitam venire ? Tu fateor amicâ tuâ urbanitate facilius me quocunque velis circumducere poſſis, quàm ille alter ſuâ quemquam metaphyſicâ : Sed ne expectes tamen ut unquam eo uſque me deducas, ut concedam iſtam feſtinationem, quâ exemplar ad me primum omnium miſiſti, mihi quovis jure deberi. Totum hoc beneficium & feſtinationis & muneris tuæ benevolentiæ & amicitiæ acceptum refero. Tu forſan prout tua eſt humanitas, aliquo modo æquum putâſti ei primo omnium donare quem noveras de-

* *De Veritate Religionis Chriſtianæ, Amica Collatio cum erudito Judæo* (Iſ. Orobio).

bere

bere ex jam deguſtato opere vehementiſſimè omnium expetere hanc diſſertationem, & deſiderare redintegratam ſibi denuò legendi voluptatem. Hujuſmodi meritum facile agnoſco, nec cuiquam donare poteras hoc volumen, cui æquè exoptatum, æquè acceptum eſſe potuit ac mihi. Triduum illud & ampliùs uti mones nemo videbit. Laudo ego iſtam tuam erga Judæum comitatem; quanquam, ni fallor, quando perlegerit vix credet ille, ſibi hoc munere tantum factum eſſe beneficium, ut gaudeat tàm maturè hunc librum in manus ſuas perveniſſe. De eo quod in calce epiſtolæ adjicis brevi plura. Dolui te per triduum mihi tam prope, tam proculque fuiſſe. Sed patientiùs ferendum quòd amicum habeam, quem plures amant. Optimam tuam uxorem, collegas, reliquoſque amicos noſtros, officioſiſſimè quæſo meo nomine ſalutes. Vale & me ama

Rotterd. 11 *Sept.* 1687.

Tui amantiſſimum,

J. LOCKE.

PHILIPPO *à* LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE *S.P.D.*

NImis ſeverus profectò es, vir clariſſime, tuorum erga amicos officiorum exactor

ctor, alienæ verò negligentiæ valdè immemor, dum te cunctationis insimulas, apud hominem uti nôsti omnium mortalium maximè cunctatorem. Nolo igitur apud te obtinere axioma illud, quo ultimas tuas malè auspicatus es, *Nihil deterius amico cunctatore*, sive de te ipso cogites, sive (uti aliquando meliore jure evenire possit) de me. Ego enim lentus admodùm, & tamen inter eos qui amicitiam cum fide colunt non ultimum mihi locum vendico. Si hoc aliquanto arrogantiùs dictum sit tu ipse videas. Tu alienas laudes mihi tribuis, & si illis semel mihimet placeo, ubi tandem me sistam? Istud synagogæ decretum satis ut mihi videtur à Judæis astutè promulgatum, ut eorum hic hyperaspistes aliquid habeat quod aliis dicat, etiamsi nihil habeat quod tibi respondeat: è consulto hoc factum credo, ut salvo honore & quantùm fieri possit causâ, possit ex arenâ decedere: tua enim argumentandi methodus an nasutulis quibusdam Christianis, & nihil nisi sua probantibus, placebit, nescio; vix credo placebit Judæis, qui ea se magis implicatos sentient, quàm fieri solet ab iis qui Christianam religionem ad suum modulum exigentes, vix in eâ reperirent, quod solidè Judæis opponere possent. Ego à quo librum tuum primum accepi (nam ita me cumulas ut distinctione opus sit) tam incommoda usus sum valetudine, ut illius

lectioni

lectioni vacare adhuc non potuerim. Sed jam indies convalescens, spero me non diu cariturum eâ voluptate. Interim gratias tibi ago quàm maximas, & jam spero credes mihi satisfactum duplici hoc tributo, quòd illud Judæi scriptum, sive characteres respicias sive latinitatem, planè barbarum, olim perlegerim; nam de tuo si quid dicas cogitare debes & profiteri quantum ego per te profecerim. Ita enim si verum dicere liceat, se res habet. Sed nolo ulteriùs ea de re tecum contendere, ne tertium mihi librum mittas. Literas D. Clerici quas tuis inclusas memoras nuspiam reperio, spero eas Amstelodami repertum iri & brevi me accepturas. Illum, tuam, tuos, nostros, quæso meo nomine salutes, & me ames, vir amplissime,

Rotterd. 23 *Sept.* 1687.

Tui amantissimum,

J. LOCKE.

PHILIPPO *à* LIMBORCH
JOANNES LOCKE *S.P.D.*

Vir amplissime,

INter cardiaca &, uti nostri vocant, restaurantia, nihil tam efficax reperio, quàm

quàm amicorum benevolentiam. Tuis ultimis literis me maximè recreatum ſentio. Jam diu prioribus tuis humanitatis plenis reſpondiſſem, ſi quid certum de valetudine mea pronunciare auſus fuiſſem; ſubindè enim cum me jam ſanum ſalvumque credideram, recidivam paſſus inter ſpem morbumque diu verſatus diſtuli ad te literas dare, donec certo aliquot dierum experimento me prorſus convaluiſſe confiderem. Hæc cunctatio ultimas tuas amicitiæ plenas tibi expreſſit literas & mihi attulit remedium utilius eo & jucundius, quod mihi a D^no^ Veenio per Helmontium miſiſti ſumma cum cura & feſtinatione: quanquam fruſtra, famula enim per negligentiam everſâ phiolâ incluſum effudit liquorem. Sed jam ſpero non amplius opus erit remediis, quamvis ſubinde lævia quædam ſentio ſymptomata, quæ ſpero non recrudeſcentis mali eſſe minas ſed abeuntis reliquias. Hæc ad te ſigillatim ſcribere non vereor, quia de valetudine mea ita ſollicitus es, ut alio modo tuæ humanitati magis gratè reſpondere non poſſim. Gaudeo vehementer te pauco ſanguine redemiſſe quod tibi impendebat malum. Spero te ea cautione & maturè ſemper uſurum: quamprimùm aliquam ſentis gravitatem corporis, præſertim capitis vel ventriculi, ad venæ ſectionem tibi ſtatim confugiendum. Hoc ni facias de te ſano

magis

magis metuendum erit quàm de me ægroto. Nos valetudinarii quoddam genus ſumus hypocritarum, qui eò non proficiſcimur quò ſæpiùs videmur tendere. Multùm tibi, collegis cæteriſque amicis Amſtelodamenſibus debeo quibus mea ſanitas ita cordi eſt; nec ſperare poſſum vitam mihi ſatis diuturnam fore ut tantam benevolentiam, tuam verò imprimis, prout res meretur poſſim agnoſcere, hoc velim tibi perſuaſum habeas me quantulus quantulus ſum totum tuum eſſe. Salutes quæſo quàm humillimè meo nomine Veenioſque Guenelloſque & collegas omnes, illiſque dicas mihi eos tam eximios eſſe medicos, ut magis mihi proſint illorum vota quàm aliorum remedia. Lectiſſimam tuam fœminam quàm officioſiſſimè etiam ſalutes. Vale, & ego ut valeam, uti facis, me amando perge facere:

Tui cum amore obſervantiſſimus.

Rotterd. 20 *Oct.*
1687.

J. LOCKE.

PHI-

PHILIPPO à LIMBORCH
JOANNES LOCKE S.P.D.

Vir amplissime,

CUm nihil adeò corporis sanitatem foveat & restauret ac animi tranquillitas, non dubitare potes quin jucundissimæ tuæ literæ amoris & benevolentiæ tuæ testes, in hac, in qua diu versatus sum, infirma mutabilique valetudine, mihi maximo fuerint solatio. Aliorum medicamentorum me sæpe pertæsum, reficiebant illa tua semper grata semper suavissima: & cum alia nauseabundus respuerem, salutifera illa sale tuo Attico condita appetentiùs semper desideravi. Cave igitur ut credas te mihi epistolis tuis creâsse molestiam, nisi simul credere velis ingratam fore convalescentiam, cujus tu amorê, curâ, studio tuo maximus fuisti fautor, nec destiterunt tantæ amicitiæ indicia decumbentem me aliquando erigere. Si aliquanto tardiùs hæc cum gratiarum actione agnosco, nôsti hominem, nec expectare debes morbum me expeditiorem reddidisse. Quanquam, si hæc tibi justa satis videri possit causa, aliquantulum procrastinavi, ut confirmatæ sanitatis nuncium tibi possem mittere,& mihi tecum gratulari convalescentiam, quæ tibi adeò curæ & cordi fuit.

Doleo

Doleo Orobium nobis tam citò ereptum, non quòd in eo amiſeris triumphi ornamentum, ſcio enim te, modò veritas vincat, de vincendi gloria parùm eſſe ſollicitum, quamvis in illo vivente aliqua veritatis confeſſio non diſplicuiſſet: ſed deſtinaveram in proximis ad te literis petere exactam eorum quæ in inquiſitione paſſus eſt hiſtoriam. Ad hoc me impulit narratio cujuſdam Galli quæ nuper prodiit de iis quæ ipſe etſi Catholicus paſſus eſt ab inquiſitoribus Luſitanis in Goa Indiæ. Quæ a Judæo noſtro confirmari omnia vel ſuperari poſſe facile crediderim. Quandoquidem verò ille jam ad ſilentes migraverit, rogo ut tu quicquid iſtius rei tenes memoriâ velis chartis conſignare, ne intercidat quantum nobis reſtat methodi iſtius evangelicæ teſtimonium. Doleo me non interfuiſſe collegarum convivio, non quòd oſtreis caruerim, in hujuſmodi enim conventibus nihil mihi minus placet quam pars taciturna, & ejuſmodi convivarum ſermo aliquid magis ſapidum & jucundius ſalſum habet, quam ipſa oſtrea Gaurana. Salutes eos quæſo meo nomine, uti & optimam tuam fœminam totamque Veenii & Guenellonis familiam. Ante duas vel tres ſeptimanas ad D^m le Clerc ſcripſi, unáque chartas aliquas miſi, an recte acceperit aveo ſcire, jam enim iſtis rebus vacare incipio: ipſum meo etiam nomine ſalutes.

Vale,

Vale, & ut ipſe valeam, amando & ſcribendo effice

Rotterd. 30 *Nov.* 1687.

Tui ſtudioſiſſimus,

J. LOCKE.

PHILIPPO *à* LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE *S.P.D.*

Vir ſpectatiſſime,

QUantumvis obfirmato animo minas meas non expaveſcis, ſenties tamen aliquando data occaſione quid ſit irritaſſe crabronem, in eo enim genere meritò numerari poſſit provocatuſque iratuſque amicus. Nondum vidi Acta illa Lipſienſia ubi tu coram ſiſteris, ſed euge! jam ſalva res eſt, incepi de iſtius operis merito pretioque aliquomodo dubitare, quòd nemo ex ſyſtematicis illis reperiret in eo tractatu quod diſpliceret, nihil enim argumenti aut boni aut novi deberet continere, nec quod ſupra vulgus ſaperet, ſi vulgo placeret. Sed jam vapulas laudo, nec vibices metuo. Benignior his pædagogis ſi non voluntas, ſaltem vis eſt, quàm ut eorum virgæ vulnera vel cicatrices relinquant. Conditiones ſubſcriptionum plus ſemel in Angliam miſi, ſed hactenus

hactenus responsi nihil accepi: ego datâ occasione iterum & ad alios mittam, quo successu nescio, hæc enim & hujusmodi, nisi præsto adsis & hæsitantes impellas, immemores moneas, plerumque negliguntur. Quod de Judæo narras valdè placet: brevi habebitis spero quæ sufficient ad justum volumen, in quo sanctitas Officii ad plenum depicta, omnium oculos animosque in sui admirationem arripiat. Dolendum planè esset tot & tanta sanctitatis exempla in tenebris latere, prodeant tandem in lucem, ut quibus fundamentis stabilitur & propagatur fides tandem innotescat. De MS. codice ego nihil dico, ante biduum ea de re scripsit ad te Furleius noster. Inde conjicio te aliquando Wetstenium convenire, eaque occasione has inclusas illi tradendas ad te mittere ausim. Scripsi ad illum ante quindecim dies aliquosque misi ad illum libros, aliosque postulavi & festinato ad me mittendos, sed nihil audio, nihil respondet. Eoque magis silentium ejus me sollicitum habet quòd simul miseram duo volumina *Garcillassi de la Vega* D° Veenio (cum epistola quam ad eum scripsi) reddenda quæ olim ab eo mutuò acceperam. Salutes illum rogo meo nomine reliquosque collegas. Vale, vir amicissime, & me ama ut facis

Rotterd. 22 *Jun.* 1688.

Tui studiosissimum,
J. LOCKE.

PHILIPPO à LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE *S.P.D.*

Vir ſpectatiſſime,

SIve iratum me ſive gratum exiſtimari vellem ſentio me jam nimis diu tacuiſſe. Amicum amico reſpondiſſe crabronem irritanti vindictam retuliſſe citiùs oportuit. Sed ego neſcio qua ingenii tarditate nec amici nec inimici partes rectè ago. An tibi hoc modo placere poſſim neſcio, me Slado noſtro (ſi cum eo ita agerem) valdè diſplicituram ſat ſcio qui hujuſmodi Lentulos æquo animo ferre non poteſt. Editionem MS.* de quo cum Wetſtenio tranſigebas dolendum plane eſt non procedere, & metuo ſi jam non procedat illius impreſſio, ne intereat tam luculentum hiſtoriæ monumentum; quod ſane multis quæ jam omnium manibus verſantur libris longe anteferendum exiſtimo. Multa cum voluptate legi Clerici noſtri Tentamen, ut ipſe vocat, de antiqua hebræorum poëſi: non parum lucis inde affulſurum pſalmis reliquis quæ in S.S. exſtant, ſcriptis metricis, minime dubito. Totum pſalmorum librum ſibi ita reſtitutum edi optarem: incites illum rogo ut, quantum per alia negotia liceat, hoc opus feſtinet. Cui-

* *Hiſtoria Inquiſitionis.*

 dam

dam meo amico in literis hebræis verſatiſſimo cùm hoc dixiſſem, credere non potuit, exemplo perſuaſus jam credet. Plura habui dicenda, ſed adventus amici ex Anglia hic me interpellat, adeo ut in aliud tempus ſint rejicienda. Vale & me ama,

Rotterd. 30 *July*, 1688.

Tui ſtudioſiſſimum,

J. LOCKE.

PHILIPPO *à* LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE *S.P.D.*

Vir ampliſſime,

FAmulus meus Amſtelodamum res ſuas agens profecturus meam non prius rogavit veniam quam inſtaret deceſſus, adeo ut ad te ſcribendi tempus non dabatur. Doleo profecto adeo labefactatam in familia tua valetudinem. De morbo & curatione illius abſens nihil audeo pronunciare, nec quidem opus eſt, cùm tam amicos doctoſque paratos tibi habeas medicos. Unum tamen permitte ut moneam, ſi, uti ſperare videris, erumpant tandem variolæ, velim ut in medicamentis aſſumendis, & ſtragulorum operimentis caveatur regimen calidius, unde in ſanguine excitatur fervor non ſine magno ægroti malo & diſcrimine. Hoc vel invito

extorſit mihi meus in te tuoſque amor, & expertus loquor. Tuorum valetudo eo ſpero in ſtatu eſt, ut de aliis loqui liceat, præſertim tibi haud ingratis. Furleius noſter Principi ante deceſſum adfuit & coram allocutus eſt, ut illius opem contra perſecutionem hac in provincia, ſi unquam aliàs, certè jam intempeſtivè cæptam, efflagitaret. Rem ita urſit, ut placuerit principi epiſtolam ſcribere Bailivio de Kenmerland, qui Foecke Floris miniſtrum eccleſiæ Mennonitarum juſſerat ex autoritate ſynodi intra octiduum ſolum vertere, & ea ex ditione exire, ni mallet carcere includi. Hiſtoriam iſtius Foeke Floris ex aliis quàm ex me meliùs cognoſces. Furleio enim noſtro ante hanc cauſam ne de facie quidem notus. Sed communem chriſtianorum rem in ejus libertate agi ratus cauſam illius prono animo ſuſcepit & ſtrenuè egit; ſi enim abfuiſſet παῤῥησία nihil promoviſſet. Hujus epiſtolæ ſufflamine repreſſum audio in præſens perſecutorum fervorem. Si quid de hac re ampliùs inter Mennonitas veſtros tibi innotuerit, fac nos certiores. Vale, vir optime, cum integra tua familia, ſic animitus opto

Rotterd. 24 *Nov.* 1688.

Tui ſtudioſiſſimus,

J. LOCKE.

PHI-

PHILIPPO à LIMBORCH
JOANNES LOCKE *S.P.D.*

QUod imprimis hinc decedens desideravi ut scil. te, vir amplissime, reliquosque amicos Amstelodamenses amplecti daretur, in eo omnia quasi dedita opera mihi maximè adversari videntur. Primò glacies & festinatio, deinde in ipso itinere pluvia intercepit. Die enim sabbati ultimo hinc Hagam profecturum, ut ibi nobilem fæminam ad Amstelodamum etiam cogitantem compellarem, imber satis violentus me Delphos transeuntem perfudit, quod incommodum Hagæ etiam passus sum. Ita totus madidus accessi ad illam quæ nocturnum illud iter quo ad vos ea nocte perrecturus eram, tanquam sanitati meæ nimis periculosum non dissuasit solum sed & prohibuit. Sic pluvia illa quæ jam à duobus mensibus pene unica quasi designatò unius dieculæ vobiscum spem, quâ hinc gestiens decessi prorsus abstulit. In aula omnia tam parata ad abitum, tam moræ impatientia inveni, ut primo favente vento Principem classem conscensuram nemo dubitet. Istud destinatum iter ad vos incæpi non tam vento quam Principis religioni confisus, quam vix credidi die dominicâ velle iter ingredi, etiamsi

ventus orientalis invitaret; ſed jam nihil aliud expectatur quàm ventus navigationi idoneus, quo ſimul ad naves convolandum erit. Heri veſperi huc redii, & quamdiu hîc languefcendum ſit neſcio; hoc certò ſcio, nihil moleſtius eſſe quàm ad faſtidium uſque laborare otio, & tamen ad id quod maximè velles tempus non ſuppetere. Quam vellem mihi dare apud vos horam unam vel alteram, vultus, ſermo, amplexus amicorum neſcio quid habent, quo ſe explere anima mea anxiè deſiderat. Quo vos in me ſitis animo, quo ego in vos nullum credo eſt dubium, nec augeri poſſet mutua noſtrûm amicitia valedicentium alloquio; opto tamen videre, dextras jungere, ac me iterum vobis totum tradere cujus totus ſum. Hoc ſi mihi jam non conceſſum fuerit aliàs ſpero futurum: non enim de me tam malè ominor, ut nullam credam fore diem quæ nos iterum conjungat. Multa ſunt quæ hanc navigandi occaſionem non mihi omittendam ſuadent: amicorum expectatio, res meæ privatæ jam per aliquot annos neglectæ, piratarum frequentia, & parum tutus aliàs tranſitus, & nobiliſſimæ fœminæ ſive cura ſive amicitia qua cum iturus ſum. Velim hoc tibi perſuadeas, me hîc aliam patriam reperiſſe & penè dixeram parentes, quod enim in illo nomine cariſſimum eſt, benevolentiam, amorem, charitatem, quæ ad concilian-

conciliandos homines conjungendoſque fortiora ſanguine habent vincula, apud vos abundè expertus ſum. Habeo hîc amicos ſemper mihi colendos, imo & inviſendos ſi res & dies patiatur. Hoc certo ſcio, quòd decedo cum animo revertendi ut cum illis ſolidum aliquando & illibatum capiam gaudium, quorum humanitate effectum eſt ut a meis abſens & in communi omnium mœrore nullam ſentirem animi ægritudinem. Te quod attinet (vir omnium optime, amiciſſime, dilectiſſime) cùm tuam cogito doctrinam, animum, mores, candorem, ſuavitatem, amicitiam ſatis in te uno reperi (ut cæteros taceam) quo mihi ſemper gratulari potero optimè locatam & fructuoſiſſimam aliquot annorum apud vos moram: nec ſcio an aliquod mea vita tempus æquè jucundum habitura ſit, certè magis proficuum nondum habuit. Deus O. M. te omni felicitatum genere cumulatum, familiam patriam incolumes conſervet & cuſtodiat, ut diu ſis eccleſiæ & omnibus bonis utilis. De meo erga te animo qualis jam ſit qualis futurus ſit nihil addam, cùm meum ſpero amorem non magis mihi notum & certum eſſe quam tibi, cujus in me amicitiam tot beneficiis teſtatam habeo, ut quicquid de ea literis tuis jucundiſſimis dicas, jam jam penitùs perſuaſo facilè perſuadebis. Optimæ tuæ uxori liberiſque, Veeniis, Guenelo-

niisque omnibus plurimam ſalutem dicas; te mihi apud illos advocatum & patronum relinquo, ne quid gravius ſtatuant in hominem tot beneficiis devinctum, ſi non fugientem, minus urbanè certè quam oportuit valedicentem. Sed ita ſunt ferè res humanæ, ut nihil præter voluntatem in noſtra ſit poteſtate, eâ totus ad eos feror, eâ ſingulos amplector, quæ mihi nunquam ad beneficiorum memoriam, ad grati animi confeſſionem defutura eſt. Vale, vir colendiſſime, & me ut facis ama

Tui in perpetuum amantiſſimum,

Rotterd. 16 *Feb.* 1689.

J. LOCKE.

PHILIPPO *à* LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE *S.P.D.*

Vir ampliſſime,

VEreor ne nomine negligentiæ tibi ſuſpectus ſim, quòd tam diuturno utor ſilentio, quod nec tuis meritis, nec meæ voluntati, nec noſtræ denique amicitiæ omnino convenit. Scias velim me cum ſolo non animum mutâſſe, qui tibi idem qui olim eſt, & ubicunque terrarum fuero idem futurus eſt

eſt amoris & reverentiæ plenus. Sed a meo in patriam reditu amicorum vel inviſentium vel viſendorum conſuetudo, vel rerum mearum hinc inde diſperſarum ad præſentem uſum quærendi & colligendi labor, vel aliqualis ad remp. (abſit verbo invidia) ſi non acceſſio, ſaltem ne privatum otium publicis negotiis commutarem, cura & excuſatio, & quod graviſſimum omnium eſt, maligno hujus urbis fumo labefactata valetudo ita me occupatum tenuit, ut vix momentum mihi vacui temporis relictum fuerit ex quo primum huc appulerim. Primâ quâ in terram deſcendi horâ ad D^m^ Guenellonem feſtinante calamo & vernaculâ linguâ inter ſalutantium turbam ſcripſi, ut per eum te cæteroſque amicos meos Amſtelodamenſes ſalutarem. Quicquid enim lætum jucundumque hîc reperi m: monuit aliquid illîc relictum eſſe quod non cum minore voluptate recordarer, quàm quod hic oculis uſurparem. Burnetus epiſcopus Saliſburienſis deſignatur. In parlamento de tolerantia jam agi cœptum eſt ſub duplice titulo, *comprehenſio* ſcil. & *indulgentia*. Prima eccleſiæ pomæria extendenda ſignificat, ut ablatâ cæremoniarum parte plures comprehendat. Altera tolerantiam ſignificat eorum qui, oblatis conditionibus eccleſiæ Anglicanæ, ſe unire vel nolunt vel non poſſunt. Quam laxa vel ſtricta hæc futura ſint, vix dum ſcio,

ſcio, hoc ſaltem ſentio, clerum epiſcopalem his aliiſque rebus quæ hîc aguntur non multum favere, an cum ſuo vel reip. commodo ipſi videant. De ſolutione de qua ad te ante diſceſſum ſcripſi, expecto a te aliquid quotidie. Vale, & me ut facis ama

Lond. 12 *Mar.* 1689.

Tui amantiſſimum,

J. LOCKE.

PHILIPPO *à* LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE *S.P.D.*

Vir doctiſſime,

TOlerantiam apud nos jam tandem lege ſtabilitam te ante hæc audiiſſe nullus dubito. Non eâ forſan latitudine quâ tu & tui ſimiles veri & ſine ambitione vel invidia chriſtiani, optarent. Sed aliquid eſt prodire tenus. His initiis jacta ſpero ſunt libertatis & pacis fundamenta quibus ſtabilienda olim erit Chriſti eccleſia. Nulli a cultu ſuo penitùs excluduntur, nec pœnis objiciuntur niſi Romani, ſi modo juramentum fidelitatis præſtare velint, & renuntiare tranſubſtantiationi & quibuſdam dogmatibus eccleſiæ Romanæ. De juramento autem

tem Quakeris dispensatum est; nec illis obtrusa fuisset malo exemplo, illa quam in lege videbis confessio fidei, si aliqui eorum istam fidei confessionem non obtulissent, quod imprudens factum multi inter illos & cordatiores valdè dolent. Gratias tibi ago pro exemplaribus tractatus *de Tolerantia* & pace ecclesiastica quæ mihi misisti, compacta rectè accepi, incompacta nondum ad manus meas pervenerunt. In vertendo de tolerantia libello aliquem Anglum jam jam occupatum intelligo. Opinionem illam pacis & probitatis fotricem ubique obtinere optarem. Acta inquisitionis jam pene descripta gaudeo, uti spero brevi proditura, opus utile & expectatum. Legem de tolerantia sancitam ad D^m^ Le Clerc misi, quo interprete intelliges quousque extenditur hæc libertas. Vale & me ama

Lond. 6 Jun. 1689.

Tui amantissimum,

J. LOCKE.

PHI-

PHILIPPO *à* LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE *S.P.D.*

Vir amplissime,

PRiores tuas intercidisse valde doleo, nihil enim a te proficisci potest quod mihi, uti convenit, non sit valdè carum. Novissimas tuas 29. Maii datas amore & benevolentia usitata plenas accepisse lætor, quod tuæ tuorumque valetudinis me certiorem faciunt. Scti Officii historiam oscitantia bibliopolæ in ipso partu ita hærere doleo. Prolegomena tua Da Cudwortha & ego valde probamus, & capitum Indicem quem tam amicè promittis avidè expectamus, ut istâ sciographiâ operis tui structuram prælibemus, interim optantes ut quam citissime integrum volumen Christiano orbi maximè proficuum, & pene dixeram hoc tempore necessarium, prodeat. Illic enim fons omnis persecutionis sub prætextu religionis, illic fundamentum tyrannidis ecclesiasticæ, quam minores sectæ eo exemplo animatæ prædicant affectantque. Sed quo tendat, quas tragœdias ubique, quando parum adoleverit, editura sit eo in speculo, qui sibi oculos non eruunt, facile videbunt. Ejus lectionem sibi & utilissimam & jucundissimam fore spondet Da Cudwortha, quæ

paternæ

paternæ benignitatis hæres omnem de rebus religionis persecutionem maximè aversatur. Gratulatur sibi se in partem amicitiæ quâ patrem amplexus es successisse, te officiosissimè salutat, plurimum æstimat & veneratur, unumque hoc dolet, quòd non utatur linguâ utrique communi, ut ex commercio literarum amicitiæ & eruditionis tuæ, quem optaret, fructum perciperet.

Historiam tuam de surdâ loquente duplici exemplo hîc apud nos confirmare possum. Duo juvenes, utrique surdi, quorum alter à Doctore Wallis celebri illo Oxonii matheseos professore, alter a Doctore Holder theologo edoctus, loquelæ usum didicit. Utrumque juvenem novi, & verba proferentem audivi, distinctè satis & articulatè, tonus solum vocis parum erat ingratus & inharmonicus. De altero quid factum sit nescio, alter adhuc vivit legendi scribendique peritus, & a quo illum primò loquentem audivi (viginti enim & plures sunt anni) uxorem duxit paterfamilias. Vir est ex generosa prosapia, nec diu est a quo illum viderim. Uxori liberisque tuis, Veeniis Gueneloniisque & collegis nostris plurimam salutem meo nomine dicas. Vale, vir amplissime, & me ut facis ama

Oates, 18 *Jun.* 1691.

Tui amantissimum,

J. Locke.

Phi-

PHILIPPO *à* LIMBORCH
JOANNES LOCKE *S.P.D.*

Vir amplissime,

QUod grandem tibi jamdiu destinaveram epistolam ideo accepisti nullam. Quæsivi vacuum aliquod mihi tempus dari, ut tecum liberiùs & fusiùs colloqui possem, & gratias agere pro ultima tua & amicissima epistola cui jamdudum responsum oportuit. Sed nescio quarum rerum etiam non mearum importunitate ita mihi omne otium sublatum est, ut ne propriis quidem & domesticis negotiis vacare licuerit. Cave autem credas me publicis negotiis implicitum; nec valetudo, nec vires, nec rerum agendarum imperitia id patiuntur. Et cùm mecum repetam quid a tribus jam mensibus adeo impeditus egerim, incantamenti instar videtur, ut quisque dies afferret negotiorum onus aliorum ex aliis nascentium, quæ nec sciens præviderام, nec cupiens evitare poteram.

Indicem librorum & capitum historiæ Scti Officii Domina Cudwortha & ego legimus simul magna cum voluptate. Hæc prælibatio magnum excitavit in utroque integri operis desiderium, quòd jam sub prælo esse cum gaudio a quodam Scoto non ita pridem ex vestra Batavia redeunte accepi. Bonis cum avibus procedat opus christiano

orbi

orbi imprimis utile. Hoſpes mea tyrannidi eccleſiaſticæ inimiciſſima ſæpe mihi laudat ingenium & concilium tuum, laboremque huic operi tam opportunè impenſum; creditque fruſtra de religionis reformatione & evangelii propagatione tantum undique ſtrepitum moveri, dum tyrannis in eccleſia, vis in rebus religionis (uti paſſim mos eſt) aliis ſub nominibus utcunque ſpecioſis obtinet & laudatur. Quid tandem factum eſt cum D^re^ iſto theologo qui tam mira docuit de angelis in libro ſuo de ſpirituum exiſtentia†? An non expertus eſt fratrum ſuorum pro religione, pro veritate, pro orthodoxiâ zelum? Mirum ſi impunè evadat. Apud nos prælum quod video nihil pene parturit quod alieni cives ſcire aut legere multùm deſiderabunt. Ita obſtrepunt undique arma, ut Muſarum voces vix audiantur. Imo lis ipſa theologica jam conſopita magnam in partem conquieſcit, utinam cum animarum & partium concordiâ. Sed ea ſpes vana eſt, nec tam facilè componuntur theologorum controverſiæ. Bene eſt ſi incertas aliquando ferant inducias; ut mutuâ charitate ſanentur penitus quis expectabit? Magna mihi apud te excuſatione opus eſt ut tam diuturno ſilentio ignoſcas. Id tibi perſuadeas velim, hoc non alicui voluntatis alienationi, non

† *Balthaſar Bekker.*

decreſ-

decrescenti & minus fervidæ amicitiæ tribuendum: te ut semper maximè æstimo, amo, amplector, semperque amabo. Fac itidem ut facis & me ama

Lond. 14 *Nov.* 1691.

Tui studiosissimum,

J. LOCKE.

PHILIPPO *à* LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE *S.P.D.*

Vir amplissime,

SI ex literarum tarditate de amicitia mea judicaveris, metuo ne me suspiceris ad officia nimis ignavum, à quo me profiteor cùm res postulat longè alienum. In hoc literarum commercio si quâ utor libertate, id plerumque evenit cùm ad eos scribendum sit, quibus benevolentiam amicitiamque meam re potius quam verbis testatam fore mihi in animo est. Hoc an tu probaveris nescio, ita ego tibi persuasum velim. Nemo enim est omnium qui te magis suspicit, æstimat, diligit quam ego: id nunc facio & semper faciam.

Non placet Wetstenii in edenda Sancti Officii historiâ cunctatio, hoc unicum in ea mora placet, quòd te identidem relegente & sub

& ſub incudem ſæpius revocante, limatiorem perfectioremque habebimus. Hoc unum ut te moneam jam occurrit, ſcil. alterum hujuſmodi volumen duodecim circiter ab hinc annis Monſpeſſulis extitiſſe ab hoc diſtinctum; duo enim illic tunc erant hujuſmodi volumina.

Zelus theologicus, uti video, ſemper & ubique idem eſt, eodemque modo procedit: quid tandem devenit paradoxorum ille de angelis auctor ſcire cupio, ſi evaſit mirum eſt, quanquam eo res inclinare videbatur quo tempore ſcripſiſti, favente etiam Amſtelodamenſium prædicatorum deſidiâ, vix tamen veniam ei datam credo. Hujuſmodi orthodoxiæ propugnatores non ſolent errantibus ignoſcere. Preſbyteriani in Scotia quid agant mallem ex aliis quam ex me ſcires. Zelus illic in frigido iſto aëre per antiperiſtaſin incaleſcere videtur. Satis fervidè diſciplinæ ſuæ operam dant, an ſatis prudenter, an ſatis modeſtè ipſi videant. Sed ubi cauſa Dei agitur, ut nôſti, & ejus Eccleſiæ, quid ſibi theologi non putant licere, autoritatem ſuam ſoli Deo acceptam referentes. D^m le Cene ſemel vidi Londini, ſed ſemel tantum, idque obiter apud nobiliſſimum Boyleum, adeo ut ſermocinandi locus non eſſet de rebus illius vel amicis Amſtelodamenſibus; ab eo tempore parum Londini commoratus ſum valetudini rure vacans, pulmones enim non

ferunt fumum urbis. Episcopum illum cui D^m le Gene commendâsti credo pacis ecclesiasticæ sincerè studiosum. Sollicitus sum de valetudine Veenii nostri, angusto est pectore & metuo pulmonibus ejus, metuo etiam ne praxi continuæ jam a multis annis assuetus rure otio intabescat. Opto illi diuturnam & validam, jucundamque senectam, multum illi debeo quod semper gratus agnoscam. Rectè facis quòd persecutionem religionis ergò in pontificiis solùm damnas. Si quam inter christianos sectam seligas cujus crudelitatem insecteris a reliquis, laudaberis, quanquam persecutio ubique eadem est & planè pontificia. Quælibet enim ecclesia sibi verbis arrogat Orthodoxiam re infallibilitatem. Dª Cudwortha te omni humanitate & æstimatione resalutat. Saluta quæso uxorem, familiamque tuam, Veenium, Guenelonem omnemque istam stirpem officiosissimè meo nomine. Vale, vir colendissime, & me ut facis ama.

Oates, 29 Feb. 1692. *Tui amantissimum,*

J. LOCKE.

De miraculis post apostolorum tempora certiorem fieri cupio. Non ego satis versatus in historia ecclesiastica, ut quid de iis statuam norim. Rogo igitur obnixè, nam mea

mea intereſt ſcire, an poſt apoſtolorum tempora edita fuerint in eccleſia chriſtiana miracula, quibus auctoribus & quâ fide memoriæ tradita, quam frequentia, & an ad Conſtantini imperium vel diutius duraverint, & quis fuit ille Thaumaturgus, & quid ab eo actum eſt cujus tam ſpecioſa appellatio ad nos pervenit. Non quæro miraculorum quæ in ſcriptoribus eccleſiaſticis memorantur catalogum, ſed an conſtat ex fide dignis hiſtoricis fuiſſe vera miracula, an raro vel ſæpius edita, & quamdiu donum illud eccleſiæ conceſſum.

PHILIPPO *à* LIMBORCH
JOANNES LOCKE *S.P.D.*

Vir ampliſſime,

AB acceptis tuis 27. Junii datis ad urbem accedens hodiè primum Archiepiſcopum conveni. Quamprimum tuum audivit nomen agnovit acceptam a te contra Judæum diſputationem, excuſavit ſilentium quod ob valetudinem, oculorum debilitatem, & alia quæ intervenerunt impedimenta, integram nondum perlegerat. Laudavit maximè illud opus unà cum authore, & gratias quas nondum egit ſe habere agnovit. Hiſtoriam

Sancti Officii jam valde oportunam judicavit. Capitum indicem ſumma cum voluptate & approbatione perlegit, & cùm tuum de dedicatione conſilium aperuiſſem, ea verborum urbanitate & honore, eo vultu accepit, ut ſi adfuiſſes hoc ſibi non ingratum fore certus eſſes. Mitte igitur quamprimum dedicationem, novi viri modeſtiam & laudo conſilium tuum, quòd prælectam ab eo priùs velis quam editam. Illi monſtrabo, quòd ſcio honori ducet, & ſi quid mutandum videtur indicabo. Interim dixit ſe habere librum Luſitaniæ editum de quodam actu Inquiſitionis in Luſitania, in cujus exordio occurrunt paparum bullæ aliaque diplomata quibus poteſtas Sancti Officii conceſſa & ſtabilita eſt, accuratiùs collecta. Nomen authoris non retinebat memoria, & liber ipſe, illius bibliothecâ nondum in ordinem redactâ, ab ipſo quæſitus non repertus eſt. Volumen eſt, ut aiunt, in 8vo. Brevi ipſum iterum reviſam, eam curam cuidam domeſticorum mandabit, ut ante reditum meum præſto ſit liber. Tunc tibi nomen authoris perſcribam, & ſi nondum videris ipſum librum tibi mutuò commodabit reverendiſſimus archiepiſcopus. Grævium, Guenelonem, Veenioſque omnes meo nomine ſaluta. Clerico noſtro, quem officioſiſſimè ſaluto, ante aliquot ſeptimanas an menſes dicam ſcripſi, an pervenerint ad illum literæ

meæ

meæ ignoro, nam ab isto tempore nihil ab eo accepi. Hoc quæso illi indices ne me tarditatis, si mea interciderit epistola, suspicetur. Fœminam tuam dilectissimam liberosque summo cum affectu saluto. Vale, vir dignissimè, & ut facis me ama

Lond. 30 *Jun.* 1629.

Tui studiosissimum,

J. LOCKE.

PHILIPPO *à* LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE *S.P.D.*

Vir amplissime,

DE adventu librorum tuorum certior factus, quâ potui festinatione Londinum me contuli, ut quæ tu de iis jusseras præsens curarem. Archiepiscopus quamprimum accesseram, maximas se tibi gratias habere professus est, opus sibi perplacere, seque a libri tui lectione hoc etiam tempore negotiis maximis occupatissimo abstinere non posse: sed magnam ejus partem summa cum voluptate ex quo accepit percurrisse. Verùm quo animo accepit, legit, laudavit tunc demum rectiùs intelliges ex ipsius verbis cùm ad te destinatas literas scribere vacaverit. Episcopus Salisburiensis multa &

his ſimilia mihi dixit, & ſe adeo detentum immerſumque eſſe argumento libri tui (quo hiſtoriam inquiſitionis ultra quam expectari poterat dilucidam accuratamque tradidiſti) ut ad te ſcribere donec totum pervolverit non potuerit; ſe interim gratias tibi ampliſſimas reddere. Comes Pembrokienſis multa de te cum laude, & pro munere tuo per me gratias agi juſſit, donec ipſe ſua manu agnoſcet acceptiſſimum a te beneficium. Bathonienſem & Wellenſem epiſcopum in domo procerum quæſivi ſed non aderat: cumque extra urbem habitet hora una vel altera a meo hoſpitio eum in tam brevi mora convenire non poteram. Tuum autem librum illi traditum uti reliquis omnibus certo ſcio. Cæterùm curavi ut Dus Clarke communis noſter amicus eum adeat, ut excuſet librum incompactum a te miſſum, quod ego reliquis quibus opus fuit feci, quanquam non omnino opus fuit. Mireris jam meritò cur ego, qui non minus meo quam horum virorum nomine gratias agere deberem, tantus ceſſator eſſem, ubi feſtinandum potius eſſet, ut neglecta propioris loci commoditate, rus huc commigrarem antequam ad te darem literas. Dicam quod reſt eſt; ſanus urbem adii, ſed unius dieculæ morâ adeo mihi mutata eſt valetudo, ut reſpirare vix potuerim. Ingraveſcebat quotidie malum, & tam cito me urbe ex-

pulit, ut neglectâ maximâ rerum illic agendarum parte aufugere necesse esset.

Librum tuum huc mecum attuli, ut tuo beneficio Dna Cudwortha & ego habeamus hac hyeme noctes Atticas, quas nihil tam augere poterat quam authoris præsentia, & quos secum semper adfert sales Attici. Ego huc die Saturni reversus sum; hodie libri tui lectionem inchoandam quâ spe quâ voluptate facile dijudicare potes, sed credas velim quas tibi habeo gratias non esse minores. Ex tuis 10 Octob. datis quamprimum mihi innotuit quot & quibus huc destinaveras exemplaria, egi cum hospiti meo & bibliopola Smith, ut singula singulis quam ocyssime traderentur antequam liber uspiam apud nos prostaret venalis, quod diligentissimè factum est; nec ea in parte interiit aliqua tam eximii & tam oportuni operis gratia. Sed quid tandem statuendum est de MS. codice autographo, quod ego in tutissimo aliquo loco inter archiva reponendum suaderem, ut in perpetuum . . . . . effrontes adversarios faciat fidem. Quinam verò is sit locus tutissimus libenter tecum inquirerem.

Episcopii vitam tuâ manu æternitati consecrandam gaudeo, sed quâ linguâ? cùm enim præfigendam eam concionibus illius Belgicis (ut reor) jam proditurus, metuo ne illius quoque historia prodeat etiam in

lingua mihi minus familiari. Gratulor tamen erudito orbi hæc tam docti tam eximii viri monumenta, cujus omnes lucubrationes ab interitu conſervandæ.

Jam apud nos prodiit Johannes Malela Antiochenus, quem diu & anxiè petivit amicus meus Toinardus. Rogo igitur ut cum Wetſtenio agas, ut quamprimum aliqua illius libri exemplaria ad illius manus pervenerint (quod ſcio maturius futurum quam ſi ego unum hinc ad eum Amſtelodamum mittere vellem) unum ad Toinardum quam citiſſimè tranſmittendum curabit, pretiumque meis rationibus adſcribat, quod ego ſolvam. Malela author eſt nec magni nominis nec fidei. Sed in dubio aliquo chronologico ſe lucem inde mutuaturum ſperavit Toinardus, & cupio ego maximè illius inſervire deſiderio; igitur rogo ut hanc rem cures ut mihi gratiſſimam.

De Palinodia quòd ſcripſiſti in noviſſimis tuis 7 Nov. gratias ago maximas. Eodem tenore & ubique proceditur. Habeo enim de Gallis apud nos quod poſſit ferre ſecundas, imo quod ſuperat omnibus bene trutinatis. Sed de his aliàs ſi cupias, jam enim nimis turgeſcit pagina.

Clerico noſtro ante 15, Guenelloni ante 10 dies ſcripſi. Spero jam omnia pacata & amicè compoſita in iſta familia, cui omnino omnia bona opto. Hos cæteroſque meos

omnes

omnes, inprimis optimam tuam uxorem liberosque quæso meo nomine officiosissimè salutes, & me ut facis ama

Oates, 28 *Nov.* 1692.

Tui amantissimum,

J. LOCKE.

PHILIPPO *à* LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE *S.P.D.*

Vir amplissime,

QUamprimum ad urbem accessi nudiustertiùs reverendissimus archiepiscopus me ad se vocari curavit, & ut conveni de te & libro tuo multa cum laude præfatus, tandem dixit se ad te scripsisse negotiorum multitudine hactenus impeditus, paratamque epistolam sigillo muniens mihi in manus tradidit, ut inscriptione, illo dictante, meâ manu exaratâ, tibi transmittendam curarem, quod libens suscepi. Insuper mihi tradidit libellum concionum nuper à se editarum, ut etiam ad te illum transmitterem, quod itidem diligenter curabo, & quamprimum hinc ad vos proficiscentem quempiam invenero ei tradam ad te perferendum. Hactenus de Archiepiscopi mandatis. Ad me quod

quod attinet multas tibi & habeo & refero gratias pro ea quam ex historiæ tuæ lectione percepi voluptate. Illud credo exhausisti argumentum; certe illud mysterium iniquitatis mundo palam exposuisti, è tenebris in lucem protractum. Multarum rerum importuno impeditus interventu nondum integram perlegi, post brevem hac in urbe moram rus reversurus, pergam porro ut satisfaciam ei quod in me excitâsti desiderio. Novissimis tuis literis mihi pro more gratissimis responsum hac in charta expectare non debes. Festinans ad urbem eas rure reliqui, illuc cum rediero ad otii & quietis recessus opportunior dabitur tecum colloquendi occasio, hîc vix respirandi mihi conceditur facultas. Interim amicitiam humanitatemque tuam consuetam agnosco. Te maximo cum affectu saluto, tuosque omnes, imprimis dilectissimam conjugem, liberosq; Veenios, Guenelonesque nostros, omniaque tibi prospera & felicia precor. Vale, & me ut facis ama

Tui amantissimum,

London. 10 *Jan.* 169$\frac{2}{3}$.

J. LOCKE.

PHI-

PHILIPPO *à* LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE *S.P.D.*

Vir amplissime,

JUste meum à te reprehendi silentium libens fateor, nec si severiore manu delinquentem correxisses queri possim. Etsi enim pudet me adeo tardum fuisse ad officia, ut non nisi bis monitus excitarer. Gaudeo tamen me tanti apud te fuisse, ut me primis vocibus malè respondentem iterum tentandum arbitrareris: excusatione valetudinis quam ipse tibi pro me suggessisti uti non possum. Gratias enim Deo ex quo ad te ultimas dedi recte satis pro more meo valui, nec tamen sine omni causa a scribendo abstinui. Maximam partem libri tui summa cum voluptate perlegeram, progredi mihi in animo erat, & ad finem usque pervolvere, ut de toto opere a capite ad calcem perspecto, eas quas possem gratias laudesque redderem. Non multum aberam a fine libri, & pauca illa capita quæ mihi restabant legenda spem quotidie fecerunt intra paucos dies potuisse absolvi. Sed sic negotiorum & invisentium series, dum nova & inexpectata continuato ordine se invicem exciperent, me de die in diem protraxerunt & adhuc protraxissent, nisi

nisi novissimæ tuæ tam amicâ objurgatione labentis temporis immemorem, primisque cogitationibus indormientem excitassent. En habes fatentem reum, negligentem agnosco; sed eo consilio eo animo negligentem, quem culpare vix possis: aut si qua fuerit culpa, ea spei toties deceptæ forte fuit (amicitiæ certe non fuit) quam eandem quæ erga te semper fuit, nec minime dum ego tacerem siluisse profiteri gestio. Historia tua Inquisitionis, ut de ea parte quam legi liberè pronuntiem, mihi maximè placet: ordine, methodo, perspicuitate, testium fide mihi plane videtur opus absolutissimum, nec video quid in eo desiderari possit. Et ab omnibus quotquot consulere contigit maximè laudatur. Clericum nostrum nullas a me jam a pluribus hebdomadis (ut scribis) accepisse doleo; scripsi enim ad eum ante duos circiter menses, iis inclusas a Comite Pembrokiensi ad illum misi literas quas intercidisse vereor, quandoquidem D^s Clericus in novissimis suis 11 Septemb. datis de iis ne verbum quidem. Me illum de Spenceri obitu monuisse recte memini, & credo ea in epistola quandoquidem tu id hactenus ignorare videris. Bibliorum Castellionis editionem qualem tu narras apud vos designari valdè lætor, & viris literatis apud nos gratum acceptumque fore opus non dubito: Post diuturnam rusticationem nuperus meus

in

in urbem reditus nondum mihi conceſſit plurimorum doctorum colloquia, prout datur occaſio alios conſulam, quamvis vix credi poteſt elegantem editionem tam elegantis verſionis notis etiam aliiſque ſcriptis eo ſpectantibus tam docti viri ornatam non omnibus non placituram. Filiam tuam dilectiſſimam quam febre continuâ laborâſſe ſcripſeras tibi ſuiſque ſanam ſalvamque reſtitutam ſpero, reliquos tuos noſtroſque recte valere gaudeo. Eos omnes quotquot ſunt meo nomine rogo quam officioſiſſimè ſalutes, quibus diuturnam ſanitatem & proſpera omnia largiatur. Deus optimus maximus te imprimis ſoſpitet. Vale, & ut facis perge me amare

Lond. 10 *Nov.* 1693.

Tui amantiſſimum,

J. LOCKE.

PHILIPPO *à* LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE *S.P.D.*

QUalem te, vir ſpectatiſſime, ſemper crediderim, talem re ipſâ experior ad omnia infucatæ amicitiæ officia natum, qui

non ſolum pronus in beneficia nullam benemerendi prætermittis occaſionem, ſed, quod difficilius eſt, eadem facilitate ignoſcis amicorum delictis, quâ alii offenſiones objurgant. Diuturnum meum ſilentium graviori reprehenſione dignum, ſimulac tardas tandem a me literas acceperis, quaſi primâ voculâ penitùs deletum condonas. Agnoſco beneficium candoremque illum tuum, quo tuis, quo omnibus gratus, in quo me tuto repono: dum non ex literis amicitiam meam æſtimas, nec ſilentio imminutam ſuſpicatus fueris. Id enim tibi perſuaſum vellem, tempus mihi & verba deeſſe poſſe, amicitiam quâ te amplector, quâ ſemper amplexurus ſum, mihi deeſſe vel labefactari nunquam poſſe.

In Hiſtoria tua Inquiſitionis, ex quo noviſſime ad te dedi literas, non magnos progreſſus feci, quotidianis negotiis hactenus impeditus. Quòd ſi ex duobus primis libris, quos ſumma cum voluptate perlegi, de duobus reliquis judicare licet, nihil poteſt eſſe in eo genere perfectiùs, nec ad perfectam illius tribunalis cognitionem aliquid deſiderari poteſt. Laudo ſtudium tuum, quòd pleriſque in locis ipſa authorum verba citaveris, & ſi nihil contineant quod tu breviore & elegantiore ſtylo exprimere non potuiſſes, ſi lectori placere unica eſſet cura, ſed cum quo genere hominum tibi res eſt

rectè

rectè tecum reputâsti, & eorum crimina, fraudes & sævitia ex eorum ipsorum ore optimè discenda, vix enim credi poterant si ab extraneo vel adversario afferrentur. Quæ autem ex aliis hauseris authoribus tam serò, ut editioni inseri suis aptè in locis non potuerint, tuique marginibus libri adscripseris, ea, si nimis longa non sint, ut tibi nimiam transcribendi creent molestiam, si mihi per otium excerpta transmittere velis gratissimum mihi facies, ut meum etiam librum iis ornem, & suis omnibus numeris perfectum habeam, ut nihil desit huic mysterio iniquitatis revelando. Literas tuas per Hibernum illum transmissas ille suis manibus rus huc ad me profectus mihi tradidit. Talem illum reperio qualem tu descripseris, nec desunt hîc tantæ spei fautores. Editionem illam Castellionis, quam meditantur elegantem, libens viderem, & nostratibus gratam fore nullus dubito. Quod de Harmonia Evangelica doctissimi mei Toinardi ad me scribis, de editione illius ego quidem nunquam cogitavi, nec quod amplius est, unquam cogitabo, nisi ut ipsum authorem ad opus suum luce dignissimum edendum, quâ datâ occasione, & quantum possum, impellam & instigem. Non quòd ego hunc thesaurum literato orbi invideam, ego summa ope, donec commercio literarum uti licuit, editionem

tionem ejus ſemper efflagitavi. Sed non eâ (ut mihi viſum eſt) fide mihi concreditum eſt hoc exemplar, ut ego harmoniam hanc, illo inſcio aut inconſulto, typis mandarem. Si mihi integrum eſſet ſtatim ſub prælo mitterem, ſed dum ille vivit, aut aliunde à ſuis ſpes eſt prodituram, nulla quantivis pretii mercede è meis manibus in publicum elabi patiar. Nuper prodiit hîc liber, quem Toinardo gratiſſimum fore ſcio. Si reperire poſſis viam qua ad illum tranſmitti poteſt, mihi feceris acceptiſſimum beneficium. Liber quem ad illum mittere vellem eſt *Joannes Mallela Antiochenus* Oxonii non ita pridem editus. Si occaſionem mittendi reperias, emptum apud vos librum ſive compactum ſive incompactum, prout commodiſſimum erit vecturæ, quæſo ad illum mittas, *à Monſieur Toinard à Orleans.* Gaudeo Veenium noſtrum ſanum ſalvumque in urbem & ad praxin rediiſſe. Vir qui in artis ſuæ exercitatione à juventute uſque conſenuerat, continui tædio otii credo langueſceret. Illum & Guenelonem noſtrum uxoreſque cum tota familia quæſo meo nomine officioſiſſimè ſalutes. Pacem, concordiam, & amicitiam inter eos ſtabilitam ſpero, omnia fauſta uti par eſt illis & tibi tuiſque opto. Salutes etiam rogo optimam fœminam tuam, liberoſque quos ſanos ſalvoſque tibi Deus diu conſer-

conſervet. Vale, vir humaniſſime, & ut facis me ama

Oates, 13 *Jan.* 1694.

Tui amantiſſimum,

J. LOCKE.

PHILIPPO *à* LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE *S.P.D.*

Vir colendiſſime,

ETſi meam in ſcribendo tarditatem prorſus excuſare nequeam, me tamen eo proceſſiſſe negligentiæ, ut per totos novem menſes te inſalutatum præterirem nolim credas. Diuturnum nimis ſilentium haud invitus fateor, quòd cùm nec literarum tuarum ſatietas, nec imminuta erga te voluntas mea effecerit facilem apud te veniam inventurum ſpero. Puduit ſane ad te iterum ſcribere antequam opere tuo penitus perlecto meam de eo ſententiam ſive potiùs gratulationem potuerim perſcribere. Quantum voluptatis, quantum lucis ex accurata tua Inquiſitionis Hiſtoriâ perceperim vix dicere poſſum. Ita ſcripta eſt ut decet hiſtoriam ſcribi, ubi non ad faſtum aut delectationem inventa vel ornata res eſt quò facilius in-

cautis lectoribus fucum faciat, ſed omnia authorum fide & documentorum teſtimoniis rata & ſuffulta ſunt : adeo ut quorum maximè intereſt redarguere, ne hiſcere quidem audeant. Opus illud tenebrarum & occultas nefandæ crudelitatis artes in tam claram lucem ex latibulis ſuis protraxiſti, ut ſi qua reſtarent in iſtis eccleſiæ ſive potius Antichriſti ſatellitibus, humanitatis veſtigia, puderet illos tandem tam iniqui tam horrendi tribunalis, ubi omne jus, fas & juſtitia ſuſque deque habetur. Verùm ſi hæc opprobria quæ refelli non poſſunt nihil illos moveant, Reformatis ſaltem & ex ſæviſſimo hoc ergaſtulo ereptis animos addet contra tam inhumanam tyrannidem quacunque ſpecie ſive religionis ſive concordiæ irrepere iterum conantem. Ea eſt diſputantium ſæpe contentio, ea argumentorum ſubtilitas & longa ſeries, ut non ſit uniuſcujuſque ſe argutis & fallaciis innodatum expedire & de ſumma controverſiæ judicare. Si quis verò è plebe indoctus tuam perlegat hiſtoriam, ſentiat ſtatim illic certè deeſſe religionem, charitatem, juſtitiam ubi violatâ æquitatis regulâ, omnique juris dicendi per orbem terrarum methodo, tam inhumana, tam crudelia perpetrantur, & ab evangelii genio remotiſſima : ideoque dignum opus exiſtimo quòd in cujuſque gentis linguam vulgarem traducatur, tam diſtinctâ

enim

enim & exactâ methodo omnia tradidisti, & testibus exceptione majoribus confirmâsti, ut nihil in eo desiderari videatur, quod vulgus erudiat, literatos instruat, omnesque stabiliat. Si quid forte tibi, uti mones, occurrat ad hoc argumentum pertinens ex libris ante editam historiam tuam non visis, rogo ut per otium, si non sit nimis operosum, ad me velis transmittere; omnia enim huc facientia in librum tuum ad marginem aptis in locis adscripta conjicere animus est, uti nuper ex itinerario in orientem hoc quod sequitur excerptum, paginæ 276. libri tui inserui.

Le St Office, ce redoutable tribunal fameux par ses injustices, & ses cruautés regne ici [à Malthe] plus tyranniquement qu'à Rome même, & on m'a fait cent funestes recits, dont je vous epargnerai la tristesse, seulement vous dirai-je, que les Confesseurs, qui par tout ailleurs sont tenus de garder le secret sur peine du feu, sont ici dans l'obligation de les reveler toutes les fois qu'il s'agit d'un cas d'Inquisition, quoi qu'ils ne l'avoüent pas, car ce seroit le moien d'empecher les gens de se confesser: mais c'est une chose qu'on sçait pourtant bien. Cependent pour en ôter tout soupçon, on demeure quelquefois un an ou deux sans dire mot après quoi l'Inquisiteur envoye prendre un homme, & lui demande s'il sçait

bien pourquoi il l'a fait saisir, alors c'est à lui de se ressouvenir de tout ce qu'il peut jamais avoir dit; que si malheureusement la memoire ne lui fournit pas, ou que le delit, dont il est coupable, ait esté si secret que le seul confesseur en ait eu connoisance, & que se reposant là dessus il ne veuille pas avoüer; c'est fait de cet homme là, on l'estrangle dans la prison & puis quelque tems après on dit à ses parens qu'il n'est pas besoin de lui porter à manger. Heureux sont ceux qui ne sont point assujettis à ce joug. Du Mont nouveau Voyage au Levant $\frac{158}{475}$ *imprimé in* 12°. *à la Haye* 1694.

Quas minatus es prolixiores literas avidè expecto, & si sic ulciscaris silentium meum quomodo remunaberis diligentiam? Theologiam tuam tam brevi iterum proditurum gaudeo, pauca in eâ emendenda facilè crediderim; quanta quanta addideris ex eodem erunt fonte & augebunt apud lectores pretium. In magna æstimatione apud ecclesiæ Anglicanæ Theologos scio. Quid in posterum futurum sit nescio, audio enim nonnullos Calvinismum amplexuros & prædestinationem (sic inter illos convenit) palam scriptis propugnaturos. Quot & quales in partes suas pertrahet nova hæc paucorum & adhuc privata societas nondum conjicere licet. Latent omnia & secreto peraguntur, & si ex auctoribus, quorum nomina mihi

amicus

amicus quidam ſecreto in aurem dixit, rem metiri libeat non credo longè evaſurum, niſi aliundè oriatur hoc conſilium,alioſque habeat fautores. Si quid ultra privata aliquot inter ſe colloquia producat, hoc nonnullorum molimen dies indicabit, & tunc quid velint quo tendant rectiùs judicabimus. Sed hæc hactenus. Dolet certè tantam inter nos loci eſſe intercapedinem, ſi vicinus eſſem haberes me conſultorem quotidiè oſtia tua pulſantem. Pauci admodum ſunt limati judicii homines quibuſcum poteris liberè de ſpeculationibus quibuſcumque multò minùs de rebus religionis differere. Deeſt mutua charitas, deeſt candor, & ut ſuæ quiſque ignorantiæ velum obtendat non facile dat veniam alienæ. Nec dubia quæcunque licet proponere, niſi paratus venias te totum illis tradere, & in verba jurare, vel cenſuris onuſtus hæreticus abire. Non hoc de meipſo queror tanquam aliquid paſſus ab iniquo amicorum judicio; ſed tamen jucundum eſt in proximo habere quem de maximis minimiſque apertè & audacter conſulas. Libri mei de Intellectu humano ſecunda editio diſtrahitur celeriùs quam credere poſſem, nec adhuc invenit diſſertatio illa utcunque heterodoxa oppugnatorem. Utinam eo eſſet ſermone conſcripta, ut tuo uti de univerſis eo in opere contentis judicio liceret. Urgent aliqui verſionem, quærit traductorem

Bibliopola, & ſperat brevi repertum iri, nam mihi non vacat. Vix per valetudinem & ſuccreſcentia quotidie negotia licuit mihi, niſi lento gradu & interciſis temporibus, tuam perlegere hiſtoriam, quanquam legendi voluptas me vix patiebatur ingreſſum avelli. Bibliopola efflagitat tamen ut verſionem recenſere velim, ut ſi quà a meo ſenſu aberraverit corrigam, quod ſane vix recuſare poſſum. Sed quid his te tædio prolixioris epiſtolæ jam fatigatum detineo? Vale, & ut facis me ama

Oates 26 *Oct.* 1694.

Tui amantiſſimum,

J. LOCKE.

JOANNI LOCKE
PHILIPPUS *à* LIMBORCH *S.P.D.*

Vir ampliſſime,

MAgna cum voluptate tuas accepi & legi; etſi enim affectum erga me tuum nullatenùs fuiſſe imminutum plenè perſuaſus eſſem, nihilominus poſt tam diuturnum ſilentium literas tuas videre non potuit non eſſe gratiſſimum. Hiſtoriam meam Inquiſitionis calculo tuo probari, eſt quod mihi gratulor. Scio judicium tuum eſſe

esse candidum ac limatissimum. In præconiis verò quæ addis agnosco propensissimum tuum erga me affectum, qui omnia quæ probas vero majora tibi repræsentavit. Ego veritati litare studui, & tribunal illud ita exhibere, prout ipsi doctores pontificii, imo inquisitores id nobis depingunt. Scio quidem, quando sparsim in ipsorum libris procedendi modus describitur, & fucatis coloribus palliatur, non ita patere ejus injustitiam & fœditatem, quam quando omnia simul inter se connexa nudè, sine fuco, omnium oculis exponuntur. Non crediderim quenquam, nequidem ex acerrimis inquisitionis patronis, me malæ fidei insimulaturum; & si quis id ausit, statim autorum, quorum nomina margini passim adscripsi, testimoniis redargui poterit. Sed quam dispari fato libri prodeunt! Tu historiam meam dignam judicas quæ in cujusque gentis linguam vernaculam traducatur. Romæ verò 19. die Maii hujus anni, edicto cardinalium, in tota rep. christiana inquisitorum generalium condemnata est, ejusque lectio severissimè prohibita sub pœnis in indice librorum prohibitorum contentis. Decretum hoc, quo & alii libri condemnantur, triduo post, videl. 22. Maii, fuit publicatum & affixum ad valvas Basilicæ principis apostolorum, palatii S. Officii, & in acie campi Floræ, ac aliis locis solitis & consuetis urbis.

Sed mitiorem ſententiam quis ab Inquiſitione expectet contra hiſtoriam, quæ artes ac crudelitates ipſius, quas occultas omnibuſque ignotas eſſe cupit, è tenebris erutas palam totius mundi oculis exponit, tribunalque hoc non ſanctitate venerandum, ſed injuſtitia, crudelitate, fraudibus, & impoſturis execrandum exhibet? Aliter enim, ſi verè deſcribatur, exhiberi nequit. Quæ ego ex aliis autoribus, quos poſtmodùm mihi videre contigit, annotavi, & quæ inpoſterùm in aliis, qui fortè mihi oſtendentur reperiam, libentiſſimè ad te mittam. Vidi quæ ex itinerario Du Mont annotâſti, quæ optimè illo quem deſignâſti loco margini hiſtoriæ meæ adſcribi poſſunt. Sed, ut ingenuè dicam, valdè dubito an narratio illius vera ſit. Malæ fidei ipſum neutiquam accuſo: ſed fieri facilè poteſt, ut peregrinatores non diu in regione aliqua commorantes, incidant in homines legum & conſuetudinum patriarum non admodùm peritos, nonnunquam etiam mendaces, ex quorum ore quædam veritati minus conſentanea ſine accuratiore inveſtigatione annotant. Qualia multa in itinerariis eorum, qui patriæ noſtræ mores & conſuetudines deſcribunt, obſervavi. Ratio dubitandi eſt: quia video omnes doctores pontificios, necnon omnia decreta eccleſiaſtica ſollicitè admodùm urgere, arcana confeſſionis non eſſe patefacienda; imo

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ne hæresin quidem sub sigillo confessionis revelatam; solummodo sacerdotibus injungunt, ne hæresin confesso absolutionem impertiantur, sed omnibus quas possunt rationibus hortentur, ut in judicio coram inquisitoribus juridice confiteatur. Scio quidem non omnia quæ legibus præcipiuntur exactè in praxi inquisitionis observari, & sub specioso confessionis non revelandæ prætextu simpliciores inescari posse, ut ingenuè, etiam quæ inquisitoribus ignota sunt, confiteantur, quæ à sacerdotibus porrò inquisitoribus revelari possunt, neque a tali imposturâ tribunalis illius sanctitatem abhorrere credo: attamen quia omnes ipsorum constitutiones, instructiones & leges, omnia illius ecclesiæ decreta contrarium præcipiunt, non id affirmare ausim, nisi autor sit probatus, cujus nec peritia nec fides in dubium vocari queat. Quare loco quem mihi suggessisti ex itinerario Du Mont, addi posset, si vera sit illius narratio, exinde evidenter liquere inquisitorum praxin sæpe adversari inquisitionis instructionibus & legibus; inquisitoresque unicè tantum spectare, quâ ratione miseros captivos per fas & nefas decipiant, atque ita fraudibus irretitos misera morte perdant. Post hasce scriptas tristis me de subita optimi archiepiscopi Cantuariensis morte nuntius non leviter perculit. Destinaveram ipsi Theologiæ meæ Christianæ exemplar; pridie autem

tem antequam tradi potuerit mortuus eſt. Eccleſiæ reformatæ tanto patrono, tam prudenti, perito, pacis amantiſſimo antiſtiti orbatæ ſtatum doleo. Utinam Deus, qui potens eſt etiam è lapidibus Abrahæ filios excitare, alium nobis ſubſtituat, illi ſi non parem, quod vix ſperare auſim, tamen veſtigia ejus quantum fieri poteſt proximè prementem! Ille tibi & Dominæ Maſham vitam ad ſeros uſque annos producat. Vale, & me ut facis amare non deſine

Amſtelod. 12 *Dec.* 1694.

Tui amantiſſimum,

P. à LIMBORCH.

PHILIPPO *à* LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE *S.P.D.*

Vir ampliſſime,

LIbrum tuum à bibliopola & epiſtolam tuam 12. datam rectè accepi, utrumque gratiſſimum, & quia tuam & quia à te. Epiſtolam tuam a capite ad calcem ſumma cum voluptate perlegi, gratulorque filiæ tuæ nuperæ talem illi obtigiſſe patrem cui nec mens defuit nec viſcera. Qualis indè fuit nonnullorum animus chriſtiano homini eſſet

mirandum

mirandum, nisi inter hujusmodi zelotas christianæ religionis diu versatus essem. Sed ubique ejusdem farinæ homines reperire est, qui an salutem quærant animarum, an evangelio quæstum faciant judicent alii; ego quod doleam, quod indigner hîc illic undique video. Theologiam tuam Christianam quamprimùm otium nactus fuero diligentiùs perscrutabor, his enim jam ferè studiis mihi vacandum censeo tantoque impensiùs me tibi vicinum jam opto, quòd erepto nobis magno illo & candido veritatis indagatore (ut cæteras illius virtutes taceam) vix jam habeo quem de dubiis theologicis liberè possum consulere. Quantum virum respublica anglicana, quantum columen ecclesia reformata amiserit alii judicabunt. Ego certè à multis annis stabilem, candidum, sincerum summo meo cum damno & desiderio amisi amicum.

Addenda tua ad Historiam Inquisitionis quamprimum rus rediero locis suis inseram novum amicitiæ tuæ monumentum. Rectè mones de excerptis ex itinerario Du Mont. Nec enim ut reliqui tui scriptores (qua usus es cautione) pro teste citari potest, tum quia reformatus, tum quia peregrinus. Ego verò illius verba non inidonea judicabam, quæ fidem facerent isti quæ ex tota pontificiorum œconomia enascitur: illos scil. quicquid præ se ferant, non omissuros tan-

tam rei ſuæ benè gerendæ & hæreſeos extirpandæ occaſionem, quæ ex confeſſionibus poſſit oriri: nec aliter confeſſiones tacitas eſſe, ſi quid habeant momenti, quàm ut laicis & quibus non opus eſſet, non evulgarentur. Hæc ego raptim inter urbis negotia & laborantium pulmonum anhelitus, ut ſcires tua munera quibus me tam magnificè cumulâſti ad me ſalva perveniſſe. Si ita ſilentium meum ulciſcaris dubitari poſſit an non commodum fuerit peccare: ſcias enim velim de tuis epiſtolis quod de Ciceronis orationibus jure dici poſſe, optimam eſſe quæ longiſſima eſt. Die Veneris noviſſimo ad urbem appulſi, in hoſpitio meo inveni literas Clerici noſtri 7. datas, quibus brevi reſponſurus ſum, interim rogo ut illum Guenelonemque noſtrum meo nomine ſalutes, utrique gratias agam pro epiſtolis meâ manu ubi otium & ſolatium ruris nactus fuero, hîc enim laborant pulmones, nec longam in urbe patietur valetudo mea moram. Uxorem tuam dilectiſſimam liberoſque, Veenium noſtrum optimamque uxorem illius ſaluto, & Græviuum Ultrajectenſem, cui ego debeo epiſtolam, & illius humanitati nondum reſpondiſſe pudet. Vale, & perge ut facis me amare

Tibi amaniſſimum,

Lond. 11 *Dec.* 1694.

J. LOCKE.

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JOANNI LOCKE
PHILIPPUS à LIMBORCH S.P.D.

Vir amplissime,

ULtimam meam epistolam rectè ad manus tuas pervenisse gaudeo. Autographum sententiarum inquisitionis Tholosanæ Romani in manus meas incidisse mirantur: quòd N. N. sacerdos quidam ab Episcopo Hollandiæ ad ipsum missus ut libri possessorem ex ipso resciscat, affirmavit. N. N. imprudenter me eum à Furlæo accepisse respondit; verùm alium ejus esse possessorem, cujus nomen ignorabat; aiebatque librum à te olim visum Monspeliis. Ego dixi N. N. librum à te in Gallia visum alium esse ab hoc. Addit ille, sacerdotem rogâsse, ut ex me nomen possessoris exquirat. Respondi ego, me nomen illius ignorare; illud semel me ex fratre ipsius audivisse, sed penitùs illius oblitum esse: & licet scirem, inconsultum esse illud sacerdoti indicare; quia hoc tam sollicitè inquiri judicem, ut possessore detecto, ingenti pretio exemplar hoc sibi redimant, ac Romam mittant, ut ita occasionem habeant me falsi accusandi. Idem sibi videri aiebat. Addidi ego, optâsse me, ut nomen Furlæi non indicasset: sed quoniam vox emissa reverti nequit,

nihil ulteriùs esse aperiendum; sed paucis tantùm respondendum me possessoris nomen ignorare. Hoc in se suscepit, sed non rectè servavit; nam ex fratre suo postea nomen hoc rescivit, & proculdubio sacerdoti indicavit. Nam a me rogatus, se nescire ait, an indicaverit; affirmare se non posse, nec quod indicaverit nec quod non indicaverit. Hoc certum est, nomen sacerdoti innotuisse, quia alius postea Furlæum, ad quem hæc scripseram, accessit, & possessorem nominavit, prout tibi Furlæus scripsit. Spero librum a te jam emtum, ac Furlæum illius esse possessorem. Ita omnes illorum conatus irriti erunt. Laudo ego Furlæi prudentiam, quòd a sacerdote testimonium de libri authenteia exegerit, & sacerdotis candorem, qui id tam luculenter dedit. Interim si forte exemplar ipsum nacti fuissent, & Romam misissent, non video quâ ratione volumen quod edidi suppostitium dicere possent. Adeo enim ævum illud barbarum redolet, historiasque singulares illius temporis refert, ut tale quid a quoquam nunc temporis fingi minime queat. Præstat tamen id in manibus non esse illorum, quorum interest mysteria hæc iniquitatis tegi, & coram sole non propalari. Vides hic duo adhuc additamenta ad Historiam Inquisitionis epistolæ huic adscripta, quæ, si operæ pretium videatur, reliquis junges. Luthe-

ranus

ranus quidam professor Kiloniensis contra Theologiam meam Christianam Exercitationes Anti-Limborchianas edidit. Ita Romæ & in Germania vapulo. Librum satis, ut audio, crassum nondum vidi; sed in Actis Lipsiensibus ejus compendium legi. Verum in ejusmodi antagonistam ego calamum non stringam. Non pugnant illi homines, quantum ex Actis illis mihi colligere licet, pro veritate; sed pro recepta opinione, decretis humanis, & autoritate ecclesiasticâ. Orthodoxias illis norma est consensus cum doctrina Lutherana. Contra tales frustra disputatur. Non enim operæ pretium est, ut inquiramus quid ecclesia Lutherana doceat, quod ex libris & decretis illius ecclesiæ satis notum est; sed, an illius doctrina vera sit, & a scriptoribus divinis dictata. Ita papatum ubique reperimus, & sub specioso orthodoxiæ conservandæ prætextu propria dominatio stabilitur. Sic orthodoxia semper penes potentiorem erit, veritasque alia erit Romæ, alia Genevæ, alia Wittenbergæ. Hæc incommoda vitari nequeunt, si humana placita orthodoxias κρείττονα sunt. Quæ in illis Exercitationibus maximè odiosa occurrunt Lipsienses accuratè annotârunt. Observavi hanc in illis malignitatem dicam an inconsultum zelum, quòd si in autoribus quos recensent quædam reperiantur aut convi-

convitia, aut inclementiùs in Remonſtrantes dicta, ea ſollicitè indicare ſoleant, verbiſque odioſiſſimis exprimere. Neſcio quo ſuo facto Remonſtrantes inimicitiam eorum in ſe provocaverint, niſi forſan liberiore veritatis inquiſitione, & diſſentientium fraternâ tolerantiâ. In ipſos enim calamum nunquam ſtrinximus, neque ego in eos ſcribam, aut me a criminationibus eorum purgabo; non enim me illis purgatum dabo, niſi me aliis, quibus jam placeo, ingratum reddam. Itaque ſilentio & contemtu illos ulciſcar. Sed aliud quid eſt quod te velim. Marcus Teuto in gratiam reverendiſſimi Bathonienſis ac Wellenſis in ſe ſuſcepit verſionem vitæ Epiſcopii à me conſcriptæ in linguam latinam. Varia ego citavi ex epiſtolis eccleſiaſticis præſtantium ac eruditorum virorum, & ex actis remonſtrantium ſynodalibus, quæ cùm à me è latino in belgicum ſermonem tranſlata ſint, ipſe è belgico in latinum vertere non debet, ſed prout in ipſis libris latinè leguntur exhibere. Deſtitutum autem ſe illis queritur, nec uſquam ſe eos reperire poſſe. Non dubito quin in multorum Anglorum bibliothecis reperiantur. Si tuâ opera eos habere poſſit a quopiam, magnum illi non tantum facies laboris compendium, ſed & verſionem efficies & meliorem & gratiorem. Ego, ſi quid hac in parte illi pro-

deſſe

deſſe queas, mihi præſtitum agnoſcam. Vale, vir ampliſſime, mihique dilectiſſime.

Amſtelod. 26 *Apr.* 1695.

Tui amantiſſimus,

P. à LIMBORCH.

PHILIPPO *à* LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE *S.P.D.*

Vir ampliſſime,

QUamprimum ego noviſſimas tuas 26 Aprilis datas acceperam, ſtatim Londinum ſcripſi, & quantum in me eſt curavi ut libri quos ad opus ſuum deſiderat Marcus ille noſter, ſicubi reperiri poſſint ei ſuppeditentur. Eo diutiùs reſponſum diſtuli, ut quid in hoc & altero illo negotio Tholoſano factum ſit certiorem te facerem; ſed nec D'Aranda, nec alter cujus curæ librorum perquiſitionem commiſi hactenus quicquam reſcripſerunt, ſed ex eorum ſilentio nolim ego malè ominari.

De autographo, an Furleii jam ſit, rectiùs ex ipſo quam ex me cognoſces: non quod ego negligens ea in re vel otioſus fuerim procurator; ſed cùm per valetudinem Londi-

num ea tempeſtate adire non auderem, totum negotium amico noſtrûm communi commiſi viro prudenti & ſedulo, cui ſcirem rem cordi fore; & ne mora circuitu literarum per manus meas tranſeuntium officeret, poſt primum quod ab amico Londinenſi accepi reſponſum, quo intellexi illum omnem navaturum operam ut rem tranſigeret, monui ut rectè ad Furleium ſcriberet, ut ex illo reſciret quod ſcitu ad rem rectè perficiendam adhuc opus eſſet. Hoc ab eo factum nullus dubito: ſi quid amplius a me præſtari poſſit omnem operam, curam, induſtriam me in eo locaturum pro certo habeas.

Quod de Oxonienſibus noſtris dicis quanquam nihil fando audiverim facilè crediderim: quod Kilonienſem adverſarium negligis laudo, quodque ab aliis inter ſe diſſentientibus vapulas tantò magis æſtimo, veritatis enim ſinceris & incorruptis authoribus ſic fieri ſolet. Pro Theologia tua Chriſtiana jam denuò a me tibi reddendæ ſunt gratiæ, non quod bibliothecam volumine, ſed me ſcientiâ auxerit. Hac enim hyeme in quo conſiſteret fides chriſtiana diligenter apud me cogitando ex ipſis ſcripturæ ſ. fontibus hauriendum duxi, ſemotis quibuſcumque ſectarum & ſyſtematum opinionibus & orthodoxiis. Ex intenta & accurata N. Teſtamenti lectione novi fœderis ſtatus & evangelii doctrina mihi apparuit, ut mihi videbatur

debatur meridianâ luce clarior, nec quid esset fides christiana dubitari posse sincero evangelii lectori mihi persuasissimum est. Ideoque cogitata mea in chartam conjeci, ut eo melius partium inter se convenientiam & harmoniam, & fundamenta quibus inniterentur, sedatè & per otium contemplarer. Cùm omnia in hoc meo symbolo sana & verbo divino ubique conformia videbantur, theologos consulendos duxi (reformatos videlicet) ut quid illi de fide senserint viderem. Calvinum adii, Turretinum aliosque quos ita id argumentum tractâsse fateri cogor, ut quid dicant, quid velint capere nequaquam possim, adeo dissona mihi in illis omnia videntur a sensu & simplicitate evangelica, ut illorum scripta intelligere nedum cum sacro codice reconciliare non valeam. Tandem spe meliore tuam in manus cepi theologiam, nec sine summo gaudio legi cap. viii. lib. v. quo intellexi aliquem reperiri theologum cui ego non planè essem hæreticus. Ut in libro tuo legendo ultra pergerem nondum satis vacui temporis nactus sum. Nihil mihi optatius esse possit quam te videre, & te coram quæ commentatus sum legere & explicare, ut limato & incorrupto tuo judicio subjicerentur. Hæc tibi in aurem dicta sunto, nam me hoc tractâsse argumentum tibi soli communicatum volo. Saluto Veenios,

Guenelones tuamque imprimis familiam. Vale, & ut facis me ama

Oates, 10 *Maii*, 1695. *Tui amantissimum*,

J. LOCKE.

JOANNI LOCKE
PHILIPPUS *à* LIMBORCH *S.P.D.*

Vir amplissime,

UTri nostrum diturnum ac pertinax illud silentium imputandum sit, ignoro. Importunus sim, si a te negotiis publicis occupatissimo ad singulas meas responsum efflagitem, aut silentium tuum silentio ulciscar. Amicitia sincera rigorem illum aversatur, neque epistolarum æquali numero, sed fide ac charitate mutuâ constat. Interim dulcissimo consuetudinis nostræ fructu jam ultra annum carui. Ultimæ enim tuæ, quibus me respondisse memini, decimo Maii die anni præcedentis scriptæ sunt. Salutem mihi a te aliquoties dixerunt D. D. Clericus & Guenellonus, & literas mihi a te brevi scribendas nuntiârunt, quas tamen hactenus frustra expectavi; hoc autem negotiorum tuorum, quibus obrutus es, frequentiæ unicè

unicè adſcribendum duco. Aliquoties tibi ſcribere geſtii; ſed veritus ſum, ne importunior ſcriptio ab amico occupatiſſimo reſponſum minùs tempeſtivum extorquere videretur. Nunc verò, cùm munus tibi honoratiſſimum a primoribus Angliæ demandatum eſſe conſtans ad nos fama pertulit; ſilentium abrumpendum cenſui, ut dignitatem hanc non tam tibi quam Angliæ gratuler, quæ in collegio ampliſſimo unà cum ſummis regni proceribus te aſſeſſorem habet, cujus conſilia omnia prudentiâ, fide, candore ac ſinceritate diriguntur, & communi civium ſaluti unicè deſtinantur. Deus vitam tibi largiatur longævam, conſiliiſque tuis ſucceſſum quem merentur concedat. Ego hîc occupatus vivo; & tamen vix quicquam promoveo, non aliter ac ſi otio deſidioſo torperem. Arminii ſcripta inedita me occupatum tenent: promiſi ego bibliopolæ Germano, me ea paraturum ad editionem; ſed in ſcriptis ejus relegendis, ob characterum exilitatem & ductum lectu neutiquam commodum, tantam reperio difficultatem, ut, niſi tanti viri memoria, & non exigua quam indè ad publicum redituram video utilitas, ingrati laboris moleſtiam levaret, jam operæ promiſſæ pænituiſſet. Hoc opus ubi edidero, nullis ampliùs poſthumis aliorum operibus edendis me fatigabo. Oculorum acies ſæpiſſimè intendenda eſt ut

characteres exiles, & vetustate multis in locis fermè evanescentes legantur. Ita multum temporis impendo, non tamen eo cum fructu, qui temporis diuturnitatem compensare possit. Sed quoniam alea jacta est pergendum est. Prodibunt de novo, prælectiones in Jonam & Malachiam, quibus annectitur disputatio contra Judæos, in posteriorem ad Thessalonicenses, in secundum & tertium caput Apocalypseos; & disputatio contra Cardinalem Perronium; quæ cum opusculis antehac editis justum conficient volumen. Præmisit D. Caspar Brantius prolixiorem vitæ Arminii historiam, quæ multa hactenus exteris ignota continebit. Prodiit nuper apud nos tractatus Anglici, *quòd Religio Christiana, qualis nobis est repræsentata in scriptura sacra, sit summè rationalis*, versio Gallica. Illius autorem volunt multi esse amicum meum. Ego respondeo, mihi nihil de eo constare; & cùm autor, quisquis ille sit, latere vult, nostrum non esse conjecturis, ut plurimum fallacibus, indulgere. Ego summa cum voluptate lectioni illius incumbo, & in præcipuo (quod toto libro, de fidei christianæ objecto tractat) argumento illi prorsus assentior. Hoc rectè percepto gravissimas ac acerbissimas in ecclesia christiana disputationes feliciter componi posse puto; saltem ecclesiæ, non obstante opinionum diversitate, pacem facili negotio

posse

posse restitui: ea enim quæ nunc a plerisque ut unicum fermè christianismi fundamento urgentur, objecto fidei non comprehendi planum fiet. Quod unicum anathematismis, schismatibus, & odiis tollendis remedium est. Ego, ut videas me attentè tractatum hunc legere, omniaque argumenta exactè ponderare, non possum, quin tibi observationem quandam indicem, quæ licet fortè non magni videri posset esse momenti, tamen argumento autoris quo utitur pondus aliquod afferre potest. Cap. iv. autor ad suæ sententiæ stabilimentum adducit locum ex 2 epist. Joan. v. 7. quem optimè ab ipso allegatum judico: verùm versio Gallica ita eum exhibet, ut, me judice, non exactè exprimat sensum qui in Græco exstat, quique sententiam autoris validiùs confirmat. Quâ ratione eum Anglicè expresserit autor, ignoro. Gallicè autem ita extat: *Que plusieurs imposteurs se sont elevez dans le monde, lesquels ne confessent point, que Jesus, le Messie, soit venu en chair:* Quæ sensum hunc continere videntur, quòd impostores hi non confessi sunt, quòd Jesus, qui est Messias, venerit in carne. Græcus autem textus ita habet: Ὅτι πολλοὶ πλάνοι εἰσῆλθον εἰς τὸν κόσμον, οἱ μὴ ὁμολογοῦντες Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἐρχόμενον ἐν σαρκί. Quæ posteriora verba ego verto, non, *qui non confitentur Jesum*, qui est Christus seu Messias, *in carne venisse*; sed,

qui non confitentur Jesum Messiam qui in carne venit: non enim est infinitivus in Græco, sed participium. Hic sensus est longè alius, & autoris hujus scopo multò accommodatior. Priore enim sensu hæc esse impostorum falsa doctrina arguitur, quòd non confiteantur Jesum, qui est Messias, in carne venisse. Inde sequeretur, quòd qui confitetur Jesum, de quo Johannes affirmat quòd sit Messias (vox enim χριστὸς per appositionem hoc sensu est legenda) in carne venisse, maneat in doctrina Christi, ut est v. 9. Atqui multi qui non credebant Jesum esse Messiam, credebant tamen Jesum, qui Messias est, in carne venisse. Si posteriore sensu vertantur, tum sensus est, impostores non confiteri Jesum Christum qui in carne venit; hoc est, non confiteri quòd ille Jesus, qui in carne venit, sit Messias. Confiteri enim Jesum Messiam, est, confiteri quòd Jesus sit Messias, seque illius discipulum profiteri; juxta Matth. x. 32. Illum autem Jesum, quem confiteri oportet, describit Joannes, quòd sit ille qui in carne venit, & inter Judæos versatus est. Inde sequitur, quòd ille in doctrina Christi maneat, qui confitetur quòd Jesus qui in carne venit, sit Messias. Et hæc est sincera fidei in Christum confessio. Eundem esse sensum puto 1 Joan. iv. 2, 3. ubi similiter non reperitur infinitivus, sed participium ἐληλυθότα. Non est quidem

quidem hæc obſervatio tanti in hoc negotio, facit tamen ad genuinam textus Græci intelligentiam, & autoris inſtituto favet. In aliis autem diſputationibus, quæ cum Mennonitis noſtratibus inſtituuntur, maximi eſt uſus. Sed tempus eſt ut abrumpam. Vides tibi cum homine loquace rem eſſe, qui cum literis ſuis te compellat, calamo imperare non poteſt. Vale, vir ampliſſime, & feliciter age.

Amſtelod. .... 1696. *Tui obſervantiſſimus,*

P. à LIMBORCH.

PHILIPPO *à* LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE *S.P.D.*

Vir amiciſſime,

SI omnes in religione eo uterentur candore quo tu uſus es in amicitia, non majorem offenſionem inter diſſentientes parerent argumenta quam inter nos nuper peperit diuturnum nimis ſilentium. Si epiſtolarum reciprocationem æſtimem an tua major taciturnitas an mea dicere non auſim, credo me ea ex parte peccâſſe. Ea verò

verò utcunque ſe res habeat, tu certè humanitate tuâ & ignoſcendo prior effeciſti, ut culpa omninò mea ſit, eoque magis probroſam mihi ſentio, quòd tu & leviſſimâ quidem reprehenſione abſtinuiſti : negotiorum excuſatione quâ pro me apud te uſus es, aliquid momenti erga alium habere potuiſſet, certè tibi me eo nomine excuſatum nolim, addere etiam poteram valetudinem totâ præterita hyeme valdè incommodam. Sed nec hoc quidem, quo minus tam charo tam fido amico ſcriberem, impedimento eſſe non debuit. Vis rem ipſam, ut tibi ſcriberem, ſemper quæro tempus omninò vacuum, animumque ab aliis curis & cogitationibus liberum; hoc cùm rarò accidit ita ad voluntatem, ut non ad aliud & magis oportunum tempus rejiciam, de die in diem differendo annus elabitur, & tandem pudor culpæ ſuperveniens tardiorem reddit. Si hoc ignaviæ latebram dicas, non recuſo hoc certo ſcio imminutæ amicitiæ, vel mutatæ voluntatis non eſſe crimen; & forſan ut omnia fatear, non expeditus linguæ Latinæ uſus faſtidium menti non bene ſe explicanti eggerit. Sed tua amicitia & benevolentia, vir ampliſſimè omnia ſuperat. Gratulationem tuam eo quo tu ſcripſiſti animo, id eſt amiciſſimo, accipio : ſed quid tandem mihi ſenectutis & valetudinis onere ſuccumbenti cum negotiorum publicorum tumultu. Se-

ceſſus

ceſſus mihi jam quærendus eſſet, & vel annis vel ſtudiis meis quies. Hoc, ſi mihi credas, & magis aveo, & mihi magis accommodatum credo, ſed neſcio quo fato quod alius ambitiosè & fruſtra quærit, alii vel inſcio vel etiam detrectanti tribuitur. Viri iſtius magni ſcripta inedita tuâ operâ proditura gratulor reipub. chriſtianæ. De libro Anglicano in linguam Gallicam verſo, cujus lectioni cùm ad me ſcripſeras incubuiſti, idem tecum ſentio, contentionum & ſchiſmatum radices evellit quantum id poteſt religionis chriſtianæ veritas & fundamentum, ſi id auctor rectè explicuerit, ut mihi videtur; cùm verò totum perlegeris, & tuam & aliorum de tractatu illo ſententiam ſcire vellem. Theologis noſtris tam conformiſtis quam non-conformiſtis diſplicere audio, reliqui ut ſit probant improbantve, prout ſuo vel alieno innituntur judicio. Quod monuiſti de loco Johannis tecum ſentio: idem eſt in verſione noſtra, quem in Gallica obſervaſti error; ſed ad rem facit, verum appoſite magis textus Græcus, quem tu rectiſſimè ut mihi videtur interpretaris. Vale, vir ampliſſime, & me ama

London. 3 *Sept.* 1696.

Tui amantiſſimum,

J. LOCKE.

Jo-

JOANNI LOCKE
PHILIPPUS *à* LIMBORCH *S.P.D.*

Vir amplissime,

CItiùs tuis, decimo quinto demùm Octobris die mihi redditis, respondissem, verùm quoniam judicium meum de tractatu Anglicano in linguam Gallicam verso petiisti, tempus a reliquis curis vacuum, quæsivi, ut tractatum illum elegantissimum uno tenore perlegere, omniaque illo contenta considerare & expendere possem. Maximè mihi opportunum videbatur tempus hoc hibernum, quo ab exercitiis academicis feriari solemus; sed & illud frigore suo acutissimo non leviter impetum scribendi remoratum est. Legi totum tractatum à capite ad calcem; nec unica lectione contentus, eum relegi. Interim huc perlatus est Actorum Lipsiensium mensis October, quo compendium tractatus illius pro doctorum illorum more nobis exhibetur. Primò aiunt autori illius Pockii nomen esse dici (credo eos incerto rumori temerè fidem adhibuisse, & in nomine unâ aberrâsse literâ) tum compendio quod confecere omnia quibus aliquam autori invidiam conflari posse putant sedulò enumerant, ut systematum theologicorum contemtum ulcisci velle videantur. Extollunt magnificè

Joannem

Johannem Eduardum, quòd præclarè hactenus in Anglia contra Socinianam hæresin variis scriptis militaverit, librumque ediderit Meditationum quarundam de causis & occasione atheismi, hodierni præsertim sæculi; in quo passim autoris hujus anonymi sententias, ut periculosas & a socinianismo ac atheismo non alienas perstrinxit. Subjungunt hisce compendium duorum scriptorum, quorum alterum brevis pro tractatu illo est Apologia; alterum Johannis Eduardi, titulo, *Socinianism unmasked.* Tu illos tractatus rectiùs me nôsti. Videntur dolere, quòd meditationes Eduardi ipsis ad manum non fuerint; alias & illarum compendium habuissemus. Systema theologiæ me scripsisse nôsti: non tamen eo in pretio apud me systemata sunt, ut non hunc exiguum tractatum multis systematibus præferam; imo plus veræ theologiæ ex illo quam ex operosis multorum systematibus hausisse me ingenuè profiteor. Sed verò theologiam autor ille tradit nimis facilem, nimis laxam, quæ salutem angustis humanorum decretorum vinculis alligatam minimè cupit; nec orthodoxiam ex sectarum confessionibus, sed solo verbo divino arcessit. Hoc crimen est quod socinianismi & atheismi infami convitio à doctoribus systematicis traduci meretur: non aliter, ac si, qui humana placita religiosè adorare recusant, eo ipso omnem religionem

gionem ejurare cenſendi eſſent. Ego autoris in hoc tractatu ſcopum ſummopere laudo; ſcopum ſuum feliciter aſſecutum eſſe, ſolideque ipſum quod intendit probâſſe judico. Imprimis placent mihi duo: methodus accurata hiſtoriæ evangelicæ, quam cap. ix. tradit, & per quam varia loca in evangeliis, in ſpeciem obſcura, feliciter admodum interpretatur: & perſpicua illa deductio argumentorum, quibus oſtendit cur D. Jeſus Chriſtus in terris degens, non expreſſis verbis docuerit ſe eſſe Meſſiam. Hæc autori huic peculiaria ſunt, ipſiuſque judicium ingeniique perſpicaciam clarè demonſtrant. In iis autem plurima ſunt, quibus præcipuum libri ſui argumentum, quod eſt, fidem quòd Jeſus ſit Chriſtus, eam eſſe per quam juſtificamur, luculenter confirmat. Habes hîc judicium meum de tractatu hoc, quem & tertio relegere ſtatui. Petis autem ut ſi quædam in illius lectione obſervarem tibi ſcriberem. Ego in tractatu adeò eximio vix quicquam quod tibi proponi meretur obſervavi; ita ſibi penitùs me habet aſſentientem, ut exigua ſint quæ obſervaverim, quæque principali ipſius ſcopo nihil officiunt, & quæ forſitan à me non plenè intellecta ſunt. Quia verò judicium meum requiris, ego hæc qualiacunque tibi expendenda propono; non quia alicujus pretii ſunt, ſed ut morem geram tuæ voluntati.

Statim

Statim in initio autor dicit, ſuper lapſu Adami fundatam eſſe doctrinam de Redemptione. Equidem certum eſt, lapſum Adami à doctrinâ de redemptione non excludi: attamen & propria cujuſque noſtrûm peccata ab eâ ſecludenda non ſunt. Plurimorum doctorum ſententia eſt, Dominum Jeſum nos liberâſſe è miſeria in quam per Adami peccatum incidimus, & in eundem felicitatis ſtatum, quem in Adamo amiſimus, reſtituiſſe. Ego puto illos exiliter nimium de immenſo Chriſti beneficio ſentire, ipſumque ex multis peccatis, ut Apoſtolus Rom. v. loquitur nos liberâſſe, & ad ſtatum multò feliciorem, vitam nim. æternam in cœlis perduxiſſe. Huic addo: quòd ibidem dicatur, Adamum per peccatum amiſiſſe immortalitatem, & factum eſſe mortalem. Si immortalitas autori huic ſignificet, quòd Adamus ſi non peccâſſet, moriturus non fuiſſet, & mortalitas, quòd per peccatum neceſſitatem moriendi contraxerit; veriſſimam ejus ſententiam judico. Si verò immortalitas, ut vox illa propriè ſonat, illi ſignificet moriendi impoſſibilitatem, non rectè dici puto Adamum fuiſſe creatum immortalem. Ego ſententiam meam pleniùs explicui in Theologia mea Chriſtiana, lib. ii. cap. 24. Verùm hæc immortalitas, hoc eſt, immunitas a morte, alterius planè eſt generis quam immortalitas Dei: ſicut & mortalitas, ſeu moriendi

riendi potentia, multùm differt a morte, ſeu moriendi neceſſitate. Quare etiam minus commodè mihi dictum videtur, p. 230. quòd Adami immortalitas ſit imago Dei ad quam conditus eſt: & licet concederetur, alibi immortalitatem vocari imaginem Dei; non tamen exindè ſequeretur, quando Adamus ad imaginem Dei conditus dicitur, illam imaginem eſſe immortalitatem; non enim neceſſe eſt, omnia quæ alibi ſcriptura imagine Dei deſignat, eâ comprehenſa eſſe quando hominem ad imaginem Dei conditum dicit: ſufficit eximiam quandam in homine eſſe qualitatem, reſpectu cujus imaginem Dei referre dici poſſit. Inter alia loca video, p. 232. citari ad Rom. cap. viii. 29. ubi dicimur à Deo præcogniti & prædeſtinati *ut ſimus conformes imagini filii ejus, ut ipſe ſit primogenitus inter multos fratres.* Putat autor illâ imagine cui conformes eſſe debemus deſignari immortalitatem & vitam æternam. Ego autem non tam vitam æternam quàm modum ad vitam æternam perveniendi, quo fideles Chriſti ſimiles eſſe debent, hîc ſignificari credo, nimirum per crucem & afflictiones: quam imaginem Dominus diſcipulis indicat Luc. xxiv. 26. *Nonne oportuit Chriſtum iſta pati, atque intrare in gloriam ſuam?* Hanc explicationem totius capitis ſeries evincit: jam enim v. 17. dixerat, *hæredes ſumus Dei, cohæredes autem*

tem Christi, siquidem cum ipso patimur, ut unà cum ipso glorificemur. Eaque occasione multus est ut fideles hortetur ad crucem & afflictiones evangelii causa sustinendas, inter alia argumento a voluntate divina petito, quòd per crucem nos ad salutem velit perducere: & ne id ipsis absonum videatur, Deum, quos diligit, tot dura in hoc mundo immittere, exemplum illis Christi proponit, cujus imagini ut sint conformes Deus eos prædestinavit, & consequenter ad crucem ferendam vocavit: & in sequentibus porrò ostendit, illas afflictiones non posse ipsos separare ab amore Dei, quo ipsos in Christo complectitur. Hinc & scriptura passim aliis locis inculcat, nos gloriæ Christi fore consortes si & cum ipso crucem sustinuerimus, 2 Tim. ii. 11, 12. & præsertim, Hebr. ii. 10. *Decebat ut ipse propter quem sunt omnia, & per quem sunt omnia, multos filios in gloriam adducendo, principem salutis ipsorum per afflictiones consecraret.* Et hoc potissimùm argumento fideles ad constantem persecutionum tolerantiam hortatur, 1 Petr. iv. 12, 13. Hebr. xii. 1, 2, 3. Hanc credo esse imaginem Christi, cui ut conformes simus Deum nos prædestinâsse ait Apostolus, Rom. viii. 29. consentaneè iis quæ leguntur Act. xiv. 22. 2 Tim. iii. 12. Pag. 246. ait autor sibi non occurrere quòd D. Jesus ipse sibi tribuat titulum Sacerdotis, aut mentionem fa-

ciat ullius rei quæ ad ſacerdotium refertur. Munus Chriſti ſacerdotale in apoſtolorum epiſtolis, & præcipuè in epiſtola ad Hebræos nobis pleniùs eſſe deſcriptum manifeſtum eſt; nec negari poteſt D. Jeſum nuſquam in evangeliis ſibi ſacerdotis titulum tribuere: attamen negandum non videtur quòd ſibi alicubi actionem ſacerdotalem tribuat; diſertè enim ait, ſe *animam ſuam* λύτρον ἀντὶ πολλῶν daturum, Matth. xx. 28. Sanguinem ſuum vocat *ſanguinem novi fœderis, qui pro multis effunditur in remiſſionem peccatorum*, Matth. xxvi. 27. Negare non poſſumus hunc eſſe actum qui ad ſacerdotium reſpectum habet. Quare fortaſſe præſtitiſſet id præteriiſſe, neque hominibus calumniandi occaſionem quærentibns quicquam ſuppeditâſſe quod cum ſpecie aliqua carpere poſſe videntur. Præter hæc in tractatu hoc quædam mihi occurrere videntur, quæ vix inter ſe conciliari poſſunt, niſi forte autor mentem ſuam pleniùs explicet. Pag. 13. ait, Cùm Adam pulſus ſit è paradiſo terreſtri, omniſque ejus poſteritas eapropter naſcatur extra hunc deliciarum locum; indè naturaliter ſequi debet, omnes homines morituros, & in æternum ſub potentia mortis manſuros, atque ita penitùs fore perditos: ex eo ſtatu autem omnes per Chriſtum liberatos docet, & quidem per legem fidei, quam poſtea fusè oſtendit evangelio contineri. Hæc

meo judicio vere dicuntur: verùm non ſatis capio, quomodo cum his benè concilientur, quæ leguntur, pag. 250, & 266. quòd qui juſti ſunt non indigent gratiâ, ſed jus habent ad arborem vitæ. Illi enim quatenùs Adami poſteri, etiam ſub potentia mortis æternùm manere debent: quomodo ergo per ſuam juſtitiam jus poſſunt acquirere ad arborem vitæ, ita ut nullâ gratiâ indigeant? cùm antea docuerat, omnes ex illo ſtatu neceſſariæ mortis liberatos, & quidem per legem fidei: undè ſequi videtur, liberationem illam non poſſe fieri niſi per legem fidei. Ergo non per perfectam legis operum obedientiam: nam è miſeria liberare gratiæ eſt, quam lex operum excludit. Tum nec cum principio iſto commodè ſatis conciliare poſſum, quod autor dicit, quâ ratione illi, qui de Chriſto nihil quicquam inaudiverunt, ſalvari poſſint. Si enim per Adamum neceſſariæ ac æternæ morti ſunt obnoxii, è qua per ſolam legem fidei, beneficio Chriſti liberentur, non videtur illis ſufficere poſſe, quòd lumine naturæ aliquas fidei illius, quòd Deus ſit miſericors, ſcintillas habeant; ſed per illam fidei legem, quam Deus ſalutis obtinendæ conditionem ſtatuit, ſervari debere videntur. Video doctores ſyſtematicos hîc multùm offendi: atque ideo neque acquieſcere illis quinque fructibus, quos D. Jeſum adventu ſuo in mundum hominibus

contuliſſe docet autor. Ego in doctorum ſyſtematicorum gratiam nihil in veritatis præjudicium docendum judico; & ſi quid illi præter rationem carpant, indignationem eorum ſpernendam cenſeo: ſed conſiderandum, an non majus quid dici poſſit & oporteat, quod ipſis licet non ſatisfaciat, minus tamen forſan offendet, & meo judicio pleniùs rei veritatem exhibet. Video fructus quidem indicari prophetici ac regii muneris Chriſti, nullos verò ſacerdotalis. Quid ſi ergo hîc addatur muneris ſacerdotalis fructus; quòd mundus Deo ſit reconciliatus, adeò ut nunc per Chriſtum omnibus omnino hominibus remedium paratum ſit è miſeria ſua, in quam occaſione peccati Adami, propriiſque peccatis inciderunt, emergendi & ſalutem æternam conſequendi. Hoc poſito puto explicari poſſe, quâ ratione ſalvis principiis ante poſitis, ii qui de Chriſto nihil ne fando quidem audiverunt, per Chriſtum ſalvari poſſint. Nempe quòd Deus illis qui (ut autor hic ait pag. 292.) inſtinctu luminis naturæ ad gratiam & miſericordiam ejus confugiunt, delictorumque reſipiſcentiam agunt, eorumque veniam ſupplices petunt, gratiam per Chriſtum impetratam applicet, ipſiſque propter Chriſtum remiſſionem peccatorum & juſtitiam imputet. Atque ita beneficium, quod ubi Chriſtus prædicatus eſt non niſi per directam in Chriſtum fidem obtineri

obtineri poteſt, illi ſine directa in Chriſtum, ipſis non prædicatum, fide conſequantur per gratioſam imputationem divinam; qui favores & beneficia ſua latiùs extendere poteſt quàm promiſſorum verba ferunt. Ut ita omnium ſalus in ſacrificio Chriſti propitiatorio fundetur. Puto hæc non multum à ſententia hujus autoris differre, & iis quæ evangelio continentur conſentanea eſſe. Ultimum caput per omnia amplector: omnia credenda & obſervanda ut ſalutem conſequamur evangeliis & actis contineri credo; nullumque novum articulum in epiſtolis apoſtolicis ſuperaddi: quæ alii novos fidei articulos urgent, non novi articuli ſunt, ſed aut magis dilucidæ articulorum jam antea traditorum explanationes; aut doctrinæ antea traditæ ab objectionibus præcipuè Judæorum vindicationes, cujus illuſtre nobis documentum præbet epiſtola ad Romanos. Hæc ſunt paucula illa, quæ mihi inter legendum occurrerunt, quæque tibi expendenda propono. Fortaſſe autoris mentem per omnia non plenè aſſecutus ſum. Verùm exigua hæc ſunt, & extra principalem autoris ſcopum, quem argumentis omni exceptione majoribus eum probâſſe judico, adeo ut me ſibi habeat penitùs aſſentientem. Imprimis laudo quòd tam candidè & ingenuè, nec minùs ſolidè, demonſtret reſipiſcentiæ & bonorum operum neceſſitatem, &

per legem fidei non penitùs esse abolitam legem operum, sed mitigatam. Ego illorum hominum theologiam non capio, qui fidem, quâ nobis merita Christi applicamus, etiam ante ullum resipiscentiæ actum, nos coram Deo justificare docent. Hâc enim persuasione imbuti facilè mediis in sceleribus homines incauti sibi justitiam & salutem adscribunt, modò in se fiduciam minimè vacillantem deprehendant. Et doctores improvidi hanc temerariam confidentiam alunt, dum hominibus impiis & sceleratis, modo circa vitæ finem fiduciam in Christi meritis firmam profiteantur, salutem sine ulla hæsitatione addicere non verentur. Hujus generis exemplum in nostra civitate recens, quod oblivione obliterari non debet, commemorabo. Præteritâ æstate ancilla quædam, ut heri sui ædes spoliare posset, noctu eas incendit. Mortis damnata fidem suam in Christi meritis verbis emphaticis coram ministro verbi divini, qui morituræ adfuit, prolixè professa est: Ille sceleratæ non tantum indubiam salutis spem fecit, sed & postridiè pro concione illius fidem prolixè populo commendavit, adeò quidem, ut dicere non veritus sit, se, solâ ignominiâ exceptâ, talem sibi vitæ exitum optare; multis applaudentibus, aliis verò (non Remonstrantibus modò sed & Contra-Remonstrantibus) non sine indignatione talem

Enco-

Encomiaſten cum ſuo encomio reprehendentibus. Verùm tandem manum de tabula. Tu pro ſolita tua benevolentia prolixitati meæ ignoſces. Vale, vir ampliſſime, mihique ſemper venerande.

Amſtelod. 26 Martii, 1697. *Tui amantiſſimus,*

P. à LIMBORCH.

PHILIPPO *à* LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE *S.P.D.*

Vir ampliſſime,

INter negotia publica & privatam valetudinem tam parum mihi conceditur otii literarii, ut ſperem diuturnum meum ſilentium, non ex iminutâ omninò in te voluntate aut amicitia ortum, tibi, quæ tua eſt in amicos lenitas, excuſatum fore. An tu mihi egove tibi noviſſimè literas dederim quærere nolo. Satis egomet mihi culpandus videor, quòd tam diu careo fructu ſuaviſſimæ tuæ conſuetudinis, & magnus mihi dolenduſque in curriculo vitæ meæ hiatus apparet, qui deſtitutus literarum inter nos commercio, vacuus eâ voluptate fuit, quæ maxima cùm ſit, ex benevolentia ſolum mutuiſque amicorum ſermonibus percipitur.

Præteritam hyemem cura infirmæ ſanitatis rure totam abſumpſit. Niſi quod negotia nonnulla importuna ſubinde irrepentia totum id quicquid erat temporis quod amicis deſtinaveram invitò abriperent. Adeò ut non in tuo ſolùm, ſed & multorum mihi amiciſſimorum ære alieno ſim, nec quomodò me redimam ſcio, ſi taciturnitas mea nomine negligentiæ ſuſpecta ſit. Tu ſcio humanior es quàm ut eo me condemnari velis crimine. Quanquam enim tardior aliquando mihi in reſpondendo calamus, animus tamen nunquam deficit, & ſi quando hac utor libertate, erga eos ſolùm utor, quibuſcum non ſolummodo vitam civilem ſed intimam ſolidamque amicitiam mihi colendam propono, quibus multùm me ſcio debere, & quibus inſuper cupio me plurimum debere. Ego nuper Londinum profectus poſt octidui incommodam & anheloſam moram præpropero reditu huc me recipere coactus ſum. Hæc pulmonum imbecillitas me brevi ſpero reſtituet priſtino otio. Valetudinario ſeni quid reſtat præter vota pro patria? Naturæ & imbecillitati cedendum eſt. Hoc mihi ſi concedatur libri & literæ amicorumque interrupta vel impedita commercia optima illa ſenectutis oblectamenta redibunt. Quid enim in republica literaria agatur, civili implicato vix ſcire vacat. Apud nos ſane diſceptationibus & rixis maximam partem impenditur

penditur ſcripturientium atramentum. Si diſputantium fervor ſolo veritatis amore accenderetur, laudanda eſſet litigantium induſtria & contentio ; ſed non ita ſemper tractantur argumenta, ut ea ad veritatem ſtabiliendam elucidandamve quæſita credere poſſis. In mea de Intellectu Humano diſſertatione jam tandem aliquid repertum eſt non ita ſanum, idque a viris haud infimi ſubſellii reprehenſum. Si quid ego eorum argumentis edoctus reprehenſione dignum reperirem, gratus agnoſcerem, & haud invitus corrigerem. Id cùm non ſit, rationem mihi reddendam cenſeo cur non mutaverim ſententiam, cùm nihil reperiam in ea à veritate alienum. Hæc mea defenſio aliquam partem præteritæ hyemis, prout tulit valetudo, occupatam habuit. Sed quid ego te moror noſtris nugis? Quid tu illic, voſque alii ſtudiis utilioribus intenti agatis aveo ſcire. Næ ego iniquus officiorum exactor ſi a te feſtinatas poſtulem literas in ſcribendo ipſe tantus ceſſator. Verùm tu ſcio id facies ne nimis ſerio mihi iraſci videaris. Vale, vir optime, & ut facis me ama

Oates, 4 Mar. 169⁶/₇. *Tui ſtudioſiſſimum,*

J. LOCKE.

Jo-

JOANNI LOCKE
PHILIPPUS *à* LIMBORCH *S.P.D.*

Vir amplissime,

MEnse Martio scripsi tibi epistolom satis prolixam. Hâc æstate cum viris aliquot primariis sermonem de variis habui: inter alia incidit sermo de tractatu de quo in superioribus meis judicium meum scripsi. Omnes eum summoperè laudabant. Unus verò titulum sibi non satis placere affirmabat; tanquam nimis exilem pro dignitate materiæ, quæ toto libro tractatur. Autoris hujus longè diversum aiebat fuisse institutum a plerorumque scriptorum consuetudine, qui exigui pretii libris titulos magnificos præfigere solent: hunc autem libro magnifico exilem præfixisse titulum. Oportuisse titulum aliquatenùs respondisse dignitati operis, ut & ille posset lectores allicere. Alius vir (idem qui tibi antehac Sladum nostrum commendatum esse voluit, quod tibi soli dictum velim) se bis tractatum illum perlegisse aiebat: laudabat illum summopere, autoremque fidei christianæ objectum, quod præcipuum totius libri argumentum est, solidissimè probâsse affirmabat: unum autem desiderabat; nim. quòd autor jam statim ab initio vulgarem de peccato originis

originis ſententiam rejecerit ac refutaverit, potuiſſe autorem intacta illa ſententia, nihilominus præcipuum tractatus ſui argumentum adſtruere: nunc multos, quorum mentibus altè ſententia illa inſedit, lecto libri initio, antequam ad principale ejus argumentum accedant, offendi, atque ita præjudicium contra autorem concipere, ut ſequentia non eâ animi ſerenitate quæ requiritur, legant, ſicque alienores reddi: cùm potiùs ipſorum benevolentia captanda fuiſſet, ut judicio integro expendant ſententiam, veram quidem, ſed communi theologorum appetitui minùs conſentaneam; qui omnes fermè fidei chriſtianæ aliquid de ſuo admixtum cupiunt; quaſi ea ſuo cœtui peculiaris ſit, & alii ab illa excludantur. Qui error ut ipſorum animis eruetur, alliciendi potiùs ſunt, quàm aſſertione alicujus dogmatis ſibi minùs probati alienandi. Candidè tibi ſcribo quid viri hi deſideraverint. Hâc occaſione, ut fieri ſolet, ſermo ad alia deflexit, & quidem, quibus argumentis ſolidiſſimè unitas Dei probetur. Idem ille vir primarius affirmabat, ſe argumenta quædam irrefragabilia requirere, quibus probetur, ens æternum, ſeu per ſe exiſtens, ſeu undiquaque perfectum, eſſe tantum unum. Deſiderabat quædam in argumentis Hugonis Grotii, libro primo de Veritate Religionis Chriſtianæ. Addebat, audiviſſe ſe, tractatum tuum de Intellectu Humano

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in linguam Gallicam verti; multum se tribuere judicio tuo, ac summoperè versionem illam desiderare. Quæsivit ex me, num in illo tractatu etiam unitatem entis a se existentis adstruxisses? Ego me ignorare respondi, qui tractatum, utpote linguâ mihi ignotâ conscriptum, nunquam legerim. Voluit itaque tibi seriò per me commendari, ut si in tractatu tuo quæstionem hanc intactam reliqueris, illius adstructione tractatum augere velis, unitatemque entis independentis solidè adstruere. Manifestum videtur ens independens, quod omnem in se complectitur perfectionem, unicum tantum esse: ille tamen hoc ita probari cupiebat, ut argumentum nullâ parte laboraret. Ante triduum aurem mihi vellicari jussit, & a me quæri, an jam ad te scripsissem, & aliquod à te responsum accepissem. Non credideram ipsum id tam enixè voluisse; sed quia video rem hanc ipsi cordi esse, scriptionem meam ulteriùs differendam minimè statui. Rogo, si id negotia tua permittant, ut mihi responsum scribas, quod ipsi prælegere possim, ita tamen temperatâ tuâ scriptione, ut minimè subolere ipsi possit, me tibi ipsum aliquatenùs indicâsse; posses ita respondere, quasi ego tibi scripserim, viros quosdam eruditos de hac materia differentes, ex ipsis aliquem, qui te magni æstimat, de ea tuum voluisse audire judicium, & ut quæstionem

hanc

hanc in tuo de Intellectu Humano tractatu expenderes desiderâsse. Vides quàm apertè tecum agam, & quid ab amicitia tua expectare ausim. Hagam Comitis nuper excurri; salutavi honoratissimum Comitem Pembrokiensem, & per integram horam varios cum ipso, etiam de rebus theologicis, sermones habui. Virum in tam excelsa dignitate constitutum tantum in rebus sacris studium posuisse summopere miror. Ita sermonibus ejus afficiebar, ut vix per semihoram ipsi adfuisse mihi visus sim, cùm tamen ab eo digressus integram horam esse elapsam deprehenderim. Ego viro illi excellentissimo longævam vitam precor, ut regni Anglicani negotia ipsius auspiciis feliciter administrentur: tibi verò valetudinem prosperam, ut cogitata tua orbi erudito communicare possis. Vale, amplissime vir, & salveat plurimùm Domina Masham. Salutat te uxor mea & filia.

Amstelod. 8 *Octob.* 1697.

Tui amantissimus,

P. à LIMBORCH.

Lettre

Lettre de Mr. LOCKE *a Mr.* LIMBORCH.

Monſieur,

SI mon nom eſt venu à la connoiſſance de ces habiles gens avec qui vous vous entretenez quelquefois, & s'ils daignent parler de mes eſcrits dans les converſations que vous avez avec eux, c'eſt une faveur dont je vous ſuis entierement redevable. La bonne opinion que vous avez d'une perſonne que vous voulez bien honorer de vôtre amitié les a prévenus en ma faveur. Je ſouhaiterois que mon Eſſai concernant l'entendement fut écrit dans une langue que ces excellens hommes puſſent entendre, car par le jugement exact & ſincere qu'ils porteroient de mon ouvrage je pourrois compter ſurement ſur ce qu'il y a de vray ou de faux, & ſur ce qu'il peut y avoir de tolerable. Il y a ſept ans que ce livre a été publié. La premiere, & la ſeconde edition ont eû le bonheur d'être generalement bien reçuës: mais la derniére n'a pas eû le même avantage. Après un ſilence de cinq ou ſix années on commence d'y decouvrir je ne ſçai quelles fautes dont on ne s'etoit point apperçu auparavant; & ce qu'il y a de ſingulier, on prétend trou-

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ver matiere à des controverſes de religion dans cet ouvrage ou je n'ai eû deſſein de traiter que des queſtion de pure ſpeculation philoſophique. J'avois reſolu de faire quelques additions, dont j'ay deja compoſé quelques unes qui ſont aſſez amples, & qui auroient pû paroitre en leur place dans la quatrieme edition que le libraire ſe diſpoſe à faire. Et j'aurois volontiers ſatisfait à votre deſir ou au deſir d'aucun de vos amis en y inſerant les preuves de l'unité de Dieu qui ſe preſentent à mon eſprit. Car je ſuis enclin à croire que l'unité de Dieu peut être auſſi evidemment demonſtrée que ſon exiſtence; & qu'elle peut être établie ſur des preuves qui ne laiſſeront aucun ſujet d'en douter. Mais j'aime la paix, & il y a des gens dans le monde qui aiment ſi fort les criailleries & les vaines conteſtations que je doute, ſi je dois leur fournir de nouveaux ſujets de diſpute.

Les remarques que vous me dites que d'habiles gens ont faites ſur le *Reaſonableneſs of Chriſtianity*, &c. ſont ſans doute fort juſtes, & il eſt vray que pluſieurs lecteurs ont été choquez de certaines penſées qu'on voit au commencement de ce livre, leſquelles ne s'accordent pas tout-à-fait avec des doctrines communément reçuës. Mais ſur cela je ſuis obligé de renvoyer ces Meſſieurs aux deux defenſes que l'Auteur a faites de

ſon

ſon ouvrage. Car ayant publié ce petit livre, comme il le dit luy-même, principalement afin de convaincre ceux qui doutent de la religion chretienne, il ſemble qu'il a eté conduit à traiter ces matieres malgré luy; car pour rendre ſon livre utile aux deiſtes, il ne pouvoit point ſe taire entierement ſur ces articles, auxquels ils s'aheurtent dès qu'ils veulent entrer dans l'examen de la religion chretienne. Je ſuis,

Londres, 29 Octob. 1697.

Monſieur,

Votre tres humble &

tres obeiſſant ſerviteur,

J. LOCKE.

Vir ampliſſime,

Ne mireris quòd linguâ Gallicâ reſponſum a me ſit acceptiſſimis tuis Latinis 8. hujus menſis mihi ſcriptis, liceat mihi me tibi excuſare & negotiorum multitudine quæ otium negat; & linguæ Latinæ diſſuetudine, quæ expeditè ſcribere prohibet. Hanc meam epiſtolam aliis vel prælegendam vel monſtrandam ex tuis colligo: virorum præcellentium cenſuræ ſtyli negligentiâ me objicere minimè decorum judicavi. Quicquid enim tua vel humanitas vel amicitia in me excuſare

excusare solet, aliis vel nauseam vel certè non condonandam molestiam creare potest. Scripsi igitur quod dicendum habui linguâ vernaculâ festinatim, Galloque in suam linguam vertendam tradidi. Ex quo exorta est inter episcopum Wigorniensem (qui me quæsita causâ aggressus est) & me disputatio; gens theologorum togata in librum meum mirè excitatur, laudataque hactenus dissertatio illa, tota jam scatet erroribus (vel saltem continet latentia errorum vel scepseos fundamenta) piâ doctorum virorum curâ, nunc demum detegendis. Ad unitatem Dei quod attinet, Grotii, fateor in loco a te citato argumenta non abundè satisfaciunt. Putasne tamen quempiam, qui Deum agnoscit, posse dubitare numen illud esse unicum? ego sane nunquam dubitavi; etiamsi, fateor, mihi ex hac occasione cogitanti videtur altiùs aliquanto elevandam esse mentem, & à communi philosophandi ratione segregandam, si quis id philosophicè, vel si ita dicam, physicè probare velit; sed hoc tibi soli dictum sit. Uxorem tuam dilectissimam liberosque officiosissimè saluto.

JOANNI LOCKE
PHILIPPUS à LIMBORCH S.P.D.

Amplissime vir,

GRatissimas tuas 29 Octobris scriptas rectè accepi, viroque magnifico cujus potissimùm rogatu ad te scripsi, prælegi. Res ipsa de qua quæritur a nemine sano in dubium vocari posse videtur: ipsa enim deitatis notio unitatem involvit, nec permittit, ut illa pluribus communis credi possit. Quare, me judice, nemo qui attentè secum considerat quid voce Dei intelligamus, pluritatem Deorum asserere potest. Quia tamen eam ab ethnicis asseri videmus, & contra eos scripturæ autoritate pugnari non potest, rationibus è natura petitis convincendi sunt. Quare ejusmodi requirit argumenta vir magnificus, quibus solidè demonstretur, ens independens & perfectum unicum tantum esse posse. Ex solidè adstructa essentiæ divinæ unitate porrò facili negotio omnia attributa divina, nostrumque tam erga Deum quam proximum officium deduci posse certissimus est. Cartesium dicit unitatem illam non probâsse, sed præsupposuisse, Ipse sibi demonstrationem scripsit, sed eam aiebat subtiliorem esse. Et quia multùm tuo tribuit judicio, tua argumenta avidissimè videre desiderat.

desiderat. Prælegi illi epistolam tuam: gaudebat, quòd in ea affirmes te id præstare posse: tantò enixiùs jam argumenta tua desiderat. Dolebat tibi litem temerè motam: quoniam autem, ne fortasse novis litibus & suspicionibus præter tuam intentionem vel minimam præbeas ansam, publico scripto argumenta tua proferre gravaris, rogat ut ea privatim ad me scribas, sub promisso silentii: ille hæc evulgare minimè intendit, sed ad propriam suam instructionem & in veritate confirmationem requirit. Duobus præter illum viris intimâ mihi amicitiâ conjunctis, qui priori nostræ conversationi interfuerunt, D. de Hartoge Fisci Hollandici advocato, & D. advocato Van den Ende, & præter illos nulli omnino mortalium ea communicabuntur, nisi fortasse & D. Clerico ea prælegi permittas, quod tui arbitrii est; ipso enim ignaro hæc omnia ad te scribo. Rem facturus es & viro magnifico maximopere gratam; & quòd fidis solummodo amicis & quidem paucis adeo, concreditur, cujusque nullum à me cuiquam apographum dabitur, id dispalescere non potest. Quinimo, ut tanto honestiùs apographum denegare queam, suaserim ut id in epistola tua enixè à me stipuleris. Nolim ego te genti togatæ, tanquam scepseos fundamenta jacientem, magis suspectum fieri: plerosque illorum alieno judicio, tanquam nervis alie-

nis mobile lignum, præcipites in laudem ac vituperium immerentium rapi certus ſum. Cùm tuas legerem lepida mihi incidit Thomæ Mori in ſua Utopia fabella. Refert is cùm Raphael Hythlodæus coram cardinale archiepiſcopo Cantuarienſi doctiſſime de republica diſſeruiſſet, legis quendam peritum commoto capite & labiis diſtortis quicquid dixerat improbâſſe, ac ſtatim omnes qui aderant pedibus in juriſperiti illius iviſſe ſententiam. Cùm verò Cardinalis Hythlodæi ſententiam probabat, mox quæ ipſo narrante contemſerant omnes, eadem neminem non certatim laudibus eſſe proſequutum. Simile quid tractatui tuo evenit, qui antea integro ſexennio communi applauſu exceptus fuit, nunc inſurgente contra te magni nominis epiſcopo totus erroribus ſcatet, & latentia continet ſcepſeos fundamenta. Ita ſolet theologorum vulgus non ex ſuo ſed alieno ſapere cerebro. Verùm talium judicio epiſtola tua nequaquam exponetur. Quod verò linguæ latinæ diſſuetudinem prætexis quæ expeditè ſcribere prohibet, planè me in ruborem dedit. Quale itaque tuum de me judicium eſſe cenſebo, cujus ſtylus cum tuo comparatus planè ſordet? Epiſtolæ tuæ omnes, etiam veloci calamo ſcriptæ, ſunt non tantùm puræ & terſæ, ſed & vividæ ac elegantes; quæ ſi tibi diſpliceant, quid de meis judices non difficile mihi eſt colligere

gere. Nihilominus amicitia tua fretus, confidenter quicquid in calamum venit tibi ſcribo, de benignitate tua, quæ defectus meos boni conſulere novit, planè ſecurus: impoſterum verò ſi eâ excuſatione uti pergas, timidiorem me in ſcribendo facies. Excuſationem itaque hanc minime admitti poſſe facile vides. Si verò negotia tua tardiùs nobis concedant reſponſum, nolim nimiâ feſtinatione graviora negligas, ſed tempus ad ſcribendum eligas, minus occupatum. Quicquid & quandocunque ſcripſeris, gratiſſimum erit: interim ſi citò des bis te dediſſe gratus agnoſcam. Dedit mihi hebdomade proximè elapſa D. Clericus tuum de Educatione liberorum tractatum in linguam Belgicam verſum; pro quo dono magnifico ſummas tibi ago gratias. Uxor & filia eum attente legunt: ego, ubi illæ ſatiatæ fuerint, integrum, quod & ipſis commendo, a capite ad calcem perlegam. Salutari te quam officioſiſſimè juſſit vir magnificus. Vale, vir ampliſſime.

Tui amantiſſimus,

P. à LIMBORCH.

JOANNI LOCKE
PHILIPPUS à LIMBORCH S.P.D.

Vir amplissime,

HAc occasione mitto tibi quædam ex Paulo Servita excerpta, quæ Historiæ Inquisitionis inseri possunt. Ego autores quos nunc evolvo, majore cum applicatione ad materiam Inquisitionis lego, quam antehac, & si quid, quod ad majorem illius illustrationem facere possit, occurrat, illud excerpere soleo, & historiam meam locupletiorem reddere. Tu si velis aliis a me antehac ad te missis & hæc adjungere poteris. Quæ mihi ante triennium ex itinerario Du Mont suppeditâsti, ea quanto magis considero, tanto magis historiæ meæ inserenda judico. Licet enim leges pontificiæ secretum confessionis revelari vetent, multa tamen in favorem fidei fiunt legibus prohibita; quas sanciviſſe videntur eum tantum in finem, ut simpliciores iis irretiti faciliùs caperentur. Itaque non tantum inquisitionis leges, sed præcipuè gesta ac acta illius, quæ cum legibus sæpissime adversâ fronte pugnant, consideranda censeo. Unum hoc expendi meretur, quod Du Mont ait, confessarios Melitenses obligatos esse Inquisitoribus revelare, quidquid ipsis in secreta confessione

feſſione negotium fidei ſpectans confitentur homines. Secretas illas confeſſiones inquiſitoribus revelari nullus dubito: legem de ea revelanda exſtare credere vix poſſum; fortaſſe confeſſariis hoc vivâ voce mandatur, licet nulla hujuſmodi lex extet. Quibus accedit, quòd ſit homo reformatus, & peregrinus, qui inter peregrinandum hoc ex quorundam incolarum ſermonibus hauſit; quorum relationes quandoque valde eſſe incertas, imo falſas, ex itinerariis quibus Belgium deſcribitur ſæpiùs ipſe deprehendi. Quare conſiderandum, quomodo ejuſmodi cavillationes pontificiorum ſolidè retundi poſſint. Quicquid verò hujus ſit, digna mihi hæc narratio videtur, quæ hiſtoriæ meæ inſeratur, ſi ſcriptoris alicujus pontificiis non ſuſpecti autoritate confirmari poſſet. Si quæ talia tibi inter legendum plura occurrunt, rogo ut & mihi ea impertiri velis.

Scripſi ante duo aut tres menſes virum quendam eximium argumenta tua de unitate divina videndi deſiderio teneri. Ego apertè & rotundè tecum agere volui, & quod mihi in mandatis datum erat celare non potui. Nolui ego graviora tua negotia interturbare, aut aliquid tibi moleſtiæ creare. Scio, ſi ab animo ac negotiis tuis impetrare poſſis, argumenta tua viro magnifico fore gratiſſima, maximi enim & acu-

men & judicium tuum facit. Si verò negotia tua tempus attentæ ejusmodi meditationi, & diffusiori paulum scriptioni requisitum, tibi non concedant, aut aliquam indè tibi fortè creandam molestiam verearis, (de quo tamen te securum esse jubeo) ego a te monitus viro magnifico prout potero te excusatum reddam: velim tamen eo in casu excusationis rationes a te mihi suppeditari: malim autem, ut, si sine incommodo, aut incommodi metu possis, te viro magnifico gratiam hanc facere, ut materiam hanc, quam jamdiu animo volvit, tuâ operâ explanatiorem habeat. Vale, vir amplissime.

Amstelod. 11 *Martii,* *Tui Amantissimus,*

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16)(98
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P. à LIMBORCH.

JOANNI LOCKE
PHILIPPUS *à* LIMBORCH *S.P.D.*

Vir amplissime,

DOctissimas tuas literas 21 Februarii datas, Martii 21 die rectè accepi. Paucis id eadem die literis per filium meum tibi tradendis significavi. Attentè tuas cum D. Cle-

D. Clerico relegi. Ita judicamus argumentis invictis te unitatem essentiæ divinæ adstruxisse, nihilque in argumentatione tua desiderari. Verùm nondum viro magnifico eas ostendendas censuimus, nisi sententiâ tuâ propiùs exploratâ. Est enim aliquid quod mihi imputandum credo, qui viri magnifici mentem non plenè tibi aperuerim. Quantum ex ipsius sermonibus percepi, agnoscit ille quidem, evidens satis esse, unum tantum hujus universi esse rectorem: sed argumentum desiderat, quo probetur ens, cujus existentia est necessaria, tantum posse esse unum; & quidem ut id argumentum a necessitate existentiæ desumatur, & a priori (ut in scholis loquuntur) non a posteriori concludat, hoc est, ex naturâ necessariæ existentiæ probetur, eam pluribus non posse esse communem. Narrabat enim, se cum aliis de materia hac differentem, dixisse, quid si tale ens existat, præter Deum unicum a quo nos dependemus, illud ens minime nos spectare, quia ab eo non dependemus; atque hoc nobis sufficere, ut Deum unum toto corde amemus & colamus. Sed tum disquirendum, an tale ens necessariò existens possit esse præter Deum necessariò existentem à quo nos dependemus. Si quid itaque ut viri magnifici curiositati plenè satisfiat, addendum putes, illud expectabo: interim literas tuas sollicitè asservabo, ac

nulli

nulli ostendam. Vale, vir amplissime, & si quid in toto hoc negotio à me per imprudentiam forte peccatum sit, benignus ignosce.

Amstelod. Kal. Apr. 1 16)(98 19

Tui amantissimus,

P. à LIMBORCH.

Lettre de Mr. LOCKE *à Mr.* LIMBORCH.

Monsieur,

LA question que vous m'avez proposée, vient de la part d'une personne d'un genie si vaste & d'une si profonde capacité, que je suis confus de l'honneur qu'il me fait de deferer si fort à mon jugement dans une occasion, où il luy seroit plus avantageux & plus sûr de s'en rapporter à luy-même. Je ne sai quelle opinion vous avez pû luy donner de moy, seduit par l'amitié que vous me portez; mais une chose dont je suis fort assûré, c'est que, si je ne consultois que ma propre reputation, j'eviterois d'exposer mes foibles pensées devant une personne d'un si grand jugement, & que je ne me hazarderois pas à regarder cet article

comme

comme une question à prouver ; bien des gens étant peut être d'avis qu'il vaut mieux le recevoir en qualité de maxime, parce que, selon eux, il est mieux etabli sur les fondemens ordinaires que si l'on tachoit de l'expliquer par des speculations & des raisonnemens aux quel tout le monde n'est pas accoutumé. Mais je sai que la personne par qui je croy que cette question vous a été proposée, a l'esprit autrement tourné. Sa candeur & sa probité égalent sa science & ses autres grandes qualitez. S'il ne trouve pas mes raisons assez claires ou assez convaincantes il ne sera pour cela porté à condamner aussitôt mon intention, ni à mal juger de moy sous pretexte que mes preuves ne sont pas aussi bonnes qu'il l'auroit souhaité. Enfin, moins il trouvera de satisfaction dans mes raisonnemens, plus il sera obligé de me pardonner, parce que, quelque convaincu que je sois de ma foiblesse, je n'ai pas laissé d'obeïr à ses ordres. J'ecris donc simplement parce que vous le voulez l'un & l'autre ; & je veux bien, Monsieur, que vous fassiez voir s'il vous plait ma lettre à cet excellent homme, & aux autres personnes, qui se trouverent dans vôtre conference. Mais c'est aux conditions suivantes : la prémiére que ces Messieurs me promettront de m'apprendre librement & sincerement leurs pensées sur ce que je dis ; la seconde, que vous ne

ne donnerez aucune copie de ce que je vous écris à qui que ce ſoit, mais que vous me promettez de jetter cette lettre au feu quand je vous prierai de le faire. A quoy je ſerois bien aiſe que vous euſſiez la bonté d'ajouter une troiſieme condition, c'eſt, que ces Meſſieurs ne feront l'honneur de me communiquer les raiſons ſur leſquelles ils etabliſſent eux mêmes l'unité de Dieu.

La queſtion dont vous me parlez, ſe reduit à ceci, *Comment l'unité de Dieu peut être prouvée?* ou en d'autres termes, *Comment on peut prouver qu'il n'y a qu'un Dieu?*

Pour reſoudre cette queſtion il eſt néceſſair de ſavoir, avant que de venir aux preuves de l'unité de Dieu, ce qu'on entend par le mot de *Dieu.* L'idée ordinaire, &, à ce que je croy, la veritable idée qu'ont de Dieu, ceux qui reconnoiſſent ſon exiſtence, c'eſt; qu'il eſt *un Etre infini, eternel, incorporel & tout parfait.* Or cette idée une fois reconnuë, il me ſemble fort aiſé d'en déduire l'unité de Dieu. En effet un etre qui eſt tout parfait, ou pour ainſi dire, parfaitement parfait, ne peut être qu'unique, parce qu'un etre tout parfait ne ſçauroit manquer d'aucun des attributs, perfections ou dégrez de perfections, qu'il luy importe

plus

plus de posseder, que d'en être privé. Car autrement il s'en faudroit d'autant qu'il ne fut entierement parfait. Par exemple, avoir du pouvoir est une plus grande perfection que de n'en avoir point ; avoir plus de pouvoir est une plus grande perfection, que d'en avoir moins ; & avoir tout pouvoir (ce qui est être tout puissant) c'est une plus grande perfection que de ne l'avoir pas tout. Cela posé, deux etres tout puissans sont incompatibles ; parce qu'on est obligé de supposer que l'un doit vouloir necessairement, ce que l'autre veut ; & en ce cas-là, l'un des deux, dont la volonté est nécessairement déterminée par la volonté de l'autre n'est pas libre ; & n'a pas, par conséquent, cette perfection là : car il est mieux d'être libre, que d'être soumis à la détermination de la volonté d'un autre. Que s'ils ne sont pas tous deux reduits à la necessité de vouloir toûjours la même chose, alors l'un peut vouloir faire, ce que l'autre ne voudroit pas qui fut fait, auquel cas la volonté de l'un prevaudra, sur la volonté de l'autre, & ainsi celui des deux, dont la puissance ne sauroit seconder la volonté n'est pas tout-puissant ; car il ne peut pas faire autant que l'autre. Donc l'un des deux n'est pas tout-puissant. Donc il n'y a, ni ne sauroit y avoir deux tout puissans, ni par consequent deux Dieux.

Par la même idée de perfection nous venons à connoître, que Dieu est *omniscient*. Or dans la supposition de deux etres distincts qui ont un pouvoir & une volonté distincte, c'est une imperfection de ne pouvoir pas cacher ses pensées à l'autre. Mais si l'un des deux cache ses pensées à l'autre, cet autre n'est pas *omniscient*, car non seulement il ne connoit pas tout ce qui peut être connu, mais il ne connoit pas même ce qu'un autre connoit.

On peut dire la même chose de la toute-presence de Dieu: il vaut mieux qu'il soit par tout dans l'étendue infinie de l'espace que d'etre exclus de quelque partie de cet espace, car s'il est exclu de quelque endroit, il ne peut pas y operer, ni savoir ce qu'on y fait & par consequent il n'est ni tout-puissant ni omniscient.

Que si pour aneantir les raisonnemens que je viens de faire, on dit que les deux Dieux qu'on suppose; ou les deux cent mille (car par la même raison qu'il peut y en avoir deux il y en peut avoir deux millions, parce qu'on n'a plus aucun moyen d'en limiter le nombre) si l'on oppose, dis-je, que plusieurs Dieux ont une parfaite toute-puissance qui soit exactement la même, qu'ils ont aussi la même connoissance, la même volonté & qu'ils existent egalement dans le même lieu, c'est seulement multiplier le

même

même etre, mais dans le fonds & dans la verité de la chose on ne fait que reduire une pluralité supposée à une veritable unité. Car de supposer deux etres intelligens, qui connoissent, veulent & font incessamment la même chose, & qui n'ont pas une existence separée, c'est supposer, en paroles, une pluralité, mais poser effectivement une simple unité. Car être inseparablement uni par l'entendement, par la volonté, par l'action, & par le lieu, c'est être autant uni qu'un etre intelligent peut être uni à luy même; & par consequent, supposer que là où il y a une telle union, il peut y avoir deux etres, c'est supposer une division sans division, & une chose divisée d'avec elle-même.

Je me suis hazardé à vous écrire mes reflexions sur ce sujet, comme elles se sont présentées à mon esprit, sans les ranger dans un certain ordre qui pourroit servir peut-être à les mettre dans un plus grand jour si on leur donnoit un peu plus d'étenduë. Mais ceci doit paroitre devant des personnes d'une si grande pénétration que ce seroit les amuser inutilement que développer davantage mes pensées. Telles qu'elles sont je vous prie de m'en ecrire vôtre opinion & celle de ces Messieurs afin que selon le jugement que vous en ferez je puisse, pour ma propre satisfaction, les examiner de nouveau, & leur donner plus de force (ce que ma

mauvaiſe ſanté & le peu de loiſir qui me reſte, ne me permettent pas de faire preſentement) ou bien les abandonner tout-à-fait comme ne pouvant être d'aucun uſage. Je ſuis,

Oates, 2 *April.* 1698.

Monſieur,

Votre tres humble & tres obeiſſant ſerviteur,

J. LOCKE.

JOANNI LOCKE PHILIPPUS *à* LIMBORCH *S.P.D.*

Vir ampliſſime,

LIteras tuas poſtremas rectè mihi fuiſſe traditas, jam intellexeris. Statim eas viro magnifico prælegi: verùm quia tunc occupatior erat, aliud deſignavit tempus magis opportunum prolixiori colloquio, quod materiæ gravitas mereri videtur. Paucis itaque abhinc diebus me denuo ad ſe vocavit; iterumque epiſtolam tuam legimus. Probat argumenta tua ſuppoſita illa, quam adhibes, Dei definitione: ens enim undiquaque perfectum, ſeu, quod eodem redit, omnes in

ſe

ſe complectens perfectiones, non niſi unum eſſe poſſe, manifeſtum eſt. Verùm ille quærit argumentum, non ex definitione Dei deſumptum, ſed ex ipſa ratione naturali, & per quod deducamur in definitionem Dei. Hâc nempe methodo inſtituit demonſtrationem ſuam. I. Datur ens æternum, independens, neceſſitate naturæ ſuæ exiſtens, & ſibi ipſi ſufficiens. II. Ens tale eſt tantum unum, & plura iſtiuſmodi entia eſſe nequeunt. III. Illud ens, quia eſt unicum, omnes in ſe complectitur perfectiones; atque hoc ens eſt Deus. Primam propoſitionem, ait vir magnificus, te in tractatu tuo de Intellectu Humano egregiè adſtruxiſſe, iiſdem planè argumentis quibus ipſe in demonſtratione ſua uſus eſt, adeo ut ſuas cogitationes in argumentatione tua expreſſas viderit. Tanto enixiùs ſecundam propoſitionem à te probatam videre deſiderat: qua ſolidè probata, tertia nullo negotio ex duabus prioribus deduci poteſt. Secundam ait, omnes theologos ac philoſophos, quin & ipſum Carteſium, non probare ſed præſupponere. Non dubito, quin mihi omnem ſuam argumentationem communicaturus ſit; credo autem non id facturum, antequam tua argumenta viderit; ut tuas cogitationes, quas ipſe es meditatus, cum ſuis conferre poſſit. Verum hîc ambigere quis poſſet, an non propoſitionum harum ordo mutari, &

quæ nunc ſecunda eſt tertia, & quæ nunc tertia eſt, ſecunda eſſe debeat : hoc eſt, an non, quando probatum eſt, dari ens æternum, independens, ſibi ipſi ſufficiens, exinde poſſit porro probari, illud in ſe omnes complecti perfectiones; quia fieri nequit, ut enti æterno, independenti ſibique ſufficienti ulla perfectio deſit : atque ita probato, ens illud omnes in ſe complecti perfectiones, porro inferatur, illud ens tantum eſſe unum. Verùm huic methodo hæc objicitur difficultas, quòd deprehendamus eſſe duas naturas totâ eſſentiâ diverſas (loquor terminis eorum qui hanc movent difficultatem) cogitationem & extenſionem : ſuppoſito dari cogitationem æternam & independentem, a qua ego dependeo, ſtatuere quis poſſet etiam eſſe extenſionem ſeu materiam æternam, ſibi ipſi ſufficientem, & a cogitatione æterna minime dependentem ? ſic ſtatuèrentur duo entia æterna; & tamen ex poſitione materiæ æternæ & independentis minime ſequeretur, eam in ſe complecti omnes perfectiones. Quare primò probandum videtur, ens æternum & independens eſſe tantum unum, antequam omnes in ſe complecti perfectiones probari poſſit.

Quod ſi ſecunda propoſitio ens independens eſſe tantum unum, non poſſit probari, nihil religioni, ſeu neceſſitati ens illud unicè colendi, decedere videtur : quia ego totus

ab illo uno ente, quod me produxit, dependeo: illi ergo soli sum obligatus, illud ex toto corde, totâ animâ diligere, illiusque præceptis per omnia obedire debeo. Si præter illud ens aliud forte existat, quia ab eo non dependeo, illud neutiquam me spectat, neque ego ullam ad id relationem habeo, neque id ullam in me operationem exserere potest. Imo neutrum horum entium de altero ullam notitiam habere, aut ullam in alterum operationem edere posset. Quoniam enim sibi ipsi est sufficiens, ergo nec per alterius positionem aut remotionem ullam acquirere potest majorem perfectionem, aut de sua perfectione quicquam amittere; aliàs sibi non esset sufficiens. Licet itaque veritatis scrutatori summopere gratum sit, evidenter demonstrare posse, ens independens esse tantum unum: si tamen fortè contingat, illud evidenter demonstrari non posse, nihil tamen religionis necessitati & perfectioni propterea decessurum videtur, quoniam ens à quo ego dependeo est tantum unum. Hæc fuit sermonum viri magnifici summa, quantum ego mentem ejus percepi.

Ego argumentationis tuæ filum, in tractatu tuo de Intellectu Humano non legi. Probasse te, ens aliquod esse à quo dependes, illudque ens esse æternum & sibi ipsi sufficiens, nullus dubito. Argumentum quo

id probatur evidens eſt & clarum. Verùm an ibidem probaveris, te ab uno ente tantum dependere, neque fieri poſſe ut à pluribus dependeas, ignoro. Argumentatio viri magnifici quidem infert, me ab ente æterno dependere; ſed nondum vidi ab ipſo probatum, ab uno tantum ente me dependere: quod tamen ſpectat primam propoſitionem. Nam in ſecunda ponitur, præter illud ens æternum à quo ego dependeo, aliud nullum eſſe ens æternum. Itaque ſimiliter hîc præſupponi videtur, me ab uno tantum ente dependere, ſaltem id nondum diſtinctè probatum audivi: quod tamen primò probandum videtur, antequam ad probationem propoſitionis ſecundæ procedatur. Tum & deſpiciendum, an quidem ratio permittat, ſupponi materiam æternam ac ſibi ſufficientem: ſi enim ens ſibi ſufficiens & æternum, neceſſario ſit omni modo perfectum; ſequitur, materiam, quæ iners eſt ſubſtantia, omni motu ac vita deſtituta, non poſſe concipi æternam ac ſibi ſufficientem.

Voluit vir magnificus, ut tibi diſtinctiùs, qualem deſideret probationem, perſcriberem: verbis ſuis te quam officioſiſſimè ſalutari juſſit; pro ſuſcepto in ſui gratiam labore gratias agit: dolet valetudinem tuam afflictam; & ſi ea minus permittat ſubtilioribus indulgere cogitationibus, minimè cupit ut te fatiges meditationibus, tibi ob valetudinem

dinem afflictiorem moleſtis, aut valetudini noxiis. Precatur interim tibi valetudinem firmam ac vegetam ; & ſi ea permittat, ut de propoſitionis ſecundæ, prout nunc à me ex mente illius propoſita eſt, judicium tuum ſcribas, rem facies ipſi gratiſſimam. Tu ipſe judicabis de illius methodo, & quid reſcribendum ſit. Hoc unum addo, ipſum lectâ tuâ epiſtolâ nullum illius apographum petiiſſe, ſed conditionibus, quas ſtipularis, acquieviſſe : & ſi petiiſſet, ego modeſtè negâſſem : verùm ea eſt humanitate, ut hoc à me flagitare noluerit. Verùm tandem tempus eſt manum de tabula tollere. Vale, vir ampliſſime.

Amſtelod. 16 *Maii*, 1698.

Tui amantiſſimus,

P. à LIMBORCH.

Lettre de Mr. LOCKE *à Mr.* LIMBORCH.

Monſieur,

SI ma ſanté ne me permettoit pas de ſatiſfaire commodément l'envie que j'ai d'executer les ordres de ce grand homme qui recoit ſi favorablement mes reflexions, toutes mediocres qu'elles ſont, il eſt pour-

tant vray que je ne ſaurois la ſacrifier pour une meilleure occaſion que celle qui me porte à examiner le ſujet où il m'a engagé, & qui me fournit le moyen de luy faire voir combien je ſuis prêt à luy obeïr. Mais je ne prétens pas qu'en cette rencontre il me ſoit obligé d'un tel ſacrifice; car ſi je ne hazarde point ma reputation auprés de luy, je ſuis fort aſſuré que ma ſanté ne ſera point intereſſée par ce que je vais écrire. Ayant à faire à un homme qui raiſonne ſi nettement, & qui a ſi bien approfondi cette matiere, je n'aurai pas beſoin de parler beaucoup pour me faire entendre. Son extreme penetration luy fera ſentir d'abord le fondement de la preuve que je vais propoſer, de ſorte que ſans qu'il ſoit neceſſaire que je m'engage dans de longues deductions, il pourra juger ſi elle eſt bien ou mal fondée.

Je ne puis m'empecher de remarquer l'exactitude de ſon jugement par rapport à l'ordre qu'il a donné à ſes propoſitions, & il eſt vray comme il l'a fort bien remarqué qu'en mettant la troiſieme à la place de la ſeconde les theologiens, les philoſophes & Deſcartes luy-même, ſuppoſent l'unité de Dieu ſans la prouver.

Si par la queſtion qui me fut d'abord propoſée, j'euſſe compris comme je fais preſentement, quel etoit le but de cet habile homme, je n'aurois pas envoyé la Réponſe

que

que je vous ai envoyée, mais une beaucoup plus courte, & plus conforme à l'ordre de la nature & de la raiſon, où chaque choſe paroit dans ſon meilleur jour.

Je croy que quiconque reflechira ſur ſoy-même, connoitra evidement ſans en pouvoir douter le moins du monde, qu'il y a eû de toute éternité un etre intelligent. Je croy encore qu'il eſt évident à tout homme qui penſe, qu'il y a auſſi un etre infini. Or je dis qu'il ne peut y avoir qu'un etre infini, & que cet etre infini doit etre auſſi l'etre éternel; parce que, ce qui eſt infini, doit avoir été infini de toute éternité, car aucunes additions faites dans le temps, ne ſauroient rendre une choſe infinie, ſi elle ne l'eſt pas en elle même, & par elle même, de toute éternité. Telle étant la nature de l'infini qu'on n'en peut rien ôter, & qu'on n'y peut rien ajouter. D'où il s'enſuit que l'infini ne ſauroit être ſeparé en plus d'un, ni étre qu'un.

C'eſt là ſelon moy, une preuve *à priori* que l'etre éternel independent n'eſt qu'un; & ſi nous y joignons l'idée de toutes les perfections poſſibles, nous avons alors l'idée d'un Dieu eternel, infini, omniſcient, & tout-puiſſant, *&c.*

Si ce raiſonnement s'accorde avec les notions de l'excellent homme qui doit le voir, j'en ſerai extremement ſatisfait. Et s'il ne

s'en accommode pas, je regarderai comme une grande faveur s'il veut bien me communiquer sa preuve que je tiendrai secrette, ou que je communiquerai comme venant de de sa part, selon qu'il le jugera à propos. Je vous prie de l'assurer de mes tres humbles respects. Je suis, *&c.*

Oates, 21 *May*, 1698. J. LOCKE.

JOANNI LOCKE
PHILIPPUS *à* LIMBORCH *S.P.D.*

Vir amicissime,

VIro magnifico postremas tuas ostendi: illo pro labore rogatu suo à te suscepto maximas agit gratias: non tamen in tua argumentatione acquiescit. Methodus illius primo loco probat, dari ens aliquod per se existens ac sibi sufficiens: deinde, illud ens esse tantum unum: tertio, illud ens in se complecti omnes perfectiones, ac proinde esse Deum. Tu verò in tua argumentatione præsupponis, omni homini attentè meditanti evidens esse dari ens infinitum, cui nihil addi aut demi potest: atqui id idem ipsi est, ac supponere, dari ens undiquaque perfectum: quæ est tertia ipsius thesis; adeò

ut

ut ex præſuppoſita illius theſi tertia probes ſecundam: cum ſecunda prius probari debeat, antequam ex illa poſſit concludi tertia. Hæc fuit cauſa cur ego tibi conſiderandum dederim, an non ordo illius mutari debeat, & quæ illius tertia eſt non debeat eſſe ſecunda theſis: verùm ut argumentatio procedat, non deberet ea theſis præſupponi, ſed ex prima theſi probari: aut ſi illius methodus placeat, deberet priùs ex eo, quod ſit ens æternum ac ſibi ſufficiens probari illud eſſe unum; & hoc probato porro exinde deduci, illud eſſe infinitum, ſeu undiquaque perfectum. Argumentationem ſuam mihi nondum communicavit: an communicaturus ſit, valde dubito. Idem ipſum qui te ſcrupulus retinet: metuit iniquas theologorum cenſuras, qui omnia è ſchola ſua non hauſta, atro carbone notare, ac infami exoſiſſimarum hæreſium nomenclaturâ traducere ſolet. Tentabo tamen, an prolixiore colloquio, quod mecum inſtituere velle dixit, aliquatenus elicere poſſim, quod ſcripto tradere gravatur. Vale, vir ampliſſime.

Amſtelod. Cal. Jul. 1698.

Tui amantiſſimus,

P. à LIMBORCH.

Jo-

JOANNI LOCKE
PHILIPPUS *à* LIMBORCH *S.P.D.*

Vir amplissime,

POst ultimum meum cum viro magnifico colloquium nulla ipsum conveniendi occasio fuit: aliquamdiu febricula laboravit. Colloquium habui cum quodam illius amico, qui inter alia dixit, minimè sibi probari viri magnifici argumentationem, quâ contendit, si supponamus dari cogitationem per se existentem, & præterea extensionem seu materiam, quòd neutra ullam alterius possit habere cognitionem: extensionem quidem (aiebat) nullam habituram cognitionem cogitationis; fieri autem non posse, quin cogitatio cognitionem sit habitura extensionis: quia cùm cogitatio per se existat, sibique sit sufficiens, etiam est infinita; ac proinde vi infinitæ suæ cogitationis necessario cognoscit extensionem existentem. Sed cum regererem, virum magnificum improbare methodum, qua enti per se existenti sibique sufficienti, probantur inesse alia attributa, antequam probatum sit, illud esse tantum unicum; respondebat, necessario de tali ente debere affirmari illud esse infinitum, sed in sua natura: cogitationem quidem esse infinitæ scientiæ; materiam infinitæ extensionis,

nis, ſi quidem per ſe exiſtat. Sed inde ſequi colligebam, etiam alia attributa poſſe probari: probatâ enim infinitate, etiam probari poſſe alia illi ineſſe, ſine quibus infinitas concipi nequit. Quod non negavit. Atque ita mecum ſentire videbatur unitatem ejuſmodi entis tali methodo fruſtra quæri, ſed oportere theſin ſecundam eſſe tertiam. Crediderim ego virum magnificum hanc ſibi inveſtigandæ veritati præſcripſiſſe methodum, & cùm ipſe quæ ſibi ſatisfaciant argumenta invenire nequeat, ea apud alios quærere. Difficile mihi videtur probatu, ens neceſſitate naturæ ſuæ exiſtens eſſe tantum unum, antequam ex neceſſaria exiſtentia alia, quæ eam neceſſariò comitantur, attributa deduxeris. Si vir magnificus ea habeat, operæ pretium foret ea erudito orbi communicare.

Nuper profeſſor Vander Waeyen tractatulum quendam Rittangelii edidit, illique prolixam ac virulentam contra D. Clericum præfixit præfationem, qua explicationem initii evangelii Joannis à D. Clerico editam, refutare conatur. Ego æquitatem & judicium in illo ſcripto deſidero. In fine etiam contra me inſurgit, verùm paucis, quia in Theologia mea Chriſtiana ſcripſi Burmannum pleraque quæ in ſua Synopſi Theologiæ habet de omnipotentia divina deſcripſiſſe ex Spinozæ Cogitatis Metaphyſicis. Ille

non

non negat, ſed contendit Burmannum propterea non eſſe Spinoſiſtam, quod ego nuſquam ſcripſi. Neuter noſtrûm tam inepto ſcriptori quicquam reponet. Dedi ante paucas hebdomas N. N. literas ad te perferendas; verùm ille adhuc Roterodami commoratur: vir eſt eruditus & moribus probatis. Non tu ex eorum es genere, qui viri, non per omnia tecum in religione ſentientis, alloquium horreas. Ille quando advenerit de ſtatu noſtro plura dicere poterit. Hâc hebdomade D. Guenellonus me tuis verbis ſalutavit, quódque poſtremis meis literis nondum reſponderis excuſavit. Gratiſſimæ mihi ſemper ſunt literæ tuæ, & quanto crebriores tanto gratiores; ſed non ſum importunus adeo exactor, ut cum meliorum laborum diſpendio eas à te flagitem. Scio reſponſi tarditatem non oblivioni mei, ſed negotiis, quibus obrueris, adſcribendam. Spem fecit Guenellonus nonnullam profectionis tuæ inſtante hyeme in Galliam, & reditus tui in Angliam per Hollandiam noſtram. Si id confirmandæ valetudini inſervire queat, opto ſummis votis, ut iter hoc perficias, ut tui poſt tam diuturnam abſentiam videndi & amplectendi, & fortaſſe ultimùm valedicendi occaſio detur. Vale.

Amſtelod. 12 *Sept.* 1698.

Tui amantiſſimus,

P. à LIMBORCH.

PHI-

PHILIPPO à LIMBORCH
JOANNES LOCKE *S.P.D.*

Vir amplissime, *Lond.* 4 *Oct.* 1698.

ROgo ut magnificum virum meo nomine adeas, dicasque me magnopere rogare ut suam methodum, quâ unitatem entis per se existentis sibique sufficientis adstruit, mihi indicare velit: quandoquidem mea eâ de re argumentandi ratio ipsi non penitùs satisfaciat. Nollem ego in re tanti momenti falso vel fallaci innixus fundamento mihimet imponere. Si quid stabilius, si quid rectius noverit, ut candidus impertiri velit enixè rogito. Si tectum, si tacitum velit, pro me meoque silentio spondeas. Sin tantum beneficium orbi non invideat, in proxima, quæ jam instat, libri mei editione palam faciam, agnito, si libet, vel velato auctore.

Cartesianorum quam in epistola tua reperio loquendi formulam nullatenùs capio. Quid enim sibi velit cogitatio infinita planè me fugit. Nullo enim modo mihi in animum inducere possum cogitationem per se existere, sed rem vel substantiam cogitantem, eamque esse de qua affirmari possit esse vel finitam vel infinitam. Qui aliter loqui amant nescio quid obscuri vel fraudulenti sub tam dubia locutione continere mihi videntur,

dentur, & omnia tenebris involvere: vel ſaltem quod ſentiant clarè & dilucidè enuntiare non audere, faventes nimium hypotheſi non undique ſanæ. Sed de hoc forſan aliàs quando majus ſuppetet otium.

Quod de profeſſore Vander Wayen ſcribis non miror. Iſtius farinæ homines ſic ſolent, nec aliter poſſunt; rectè facitis quòd negligitis.

Literas tuas quæ Roterodami hærent avidè expecto & virum illum, cui eas ad me perferendas tradidiſti. Ex tua commendatione mihi erit gratiſſimus. Viros probos fovendos colendoſque ſemper exiſtimavi. Ignoſcant alii meis erroribus; nemini propter opinionum diverſitatem bellum indico, ignarus ego & fallibilis homuncio. Evangelicus ſum ego chriſtianus non papiſta.

Hucuſque ſcripſeram die ſupra notato, quo autem die epiſtolam hanc finiri permiſſum eſt infra videbis.

Quid velim cùm me chriſtianum evangelicum, vel ſi mavis orthodoxum, non papiſtam, dico, paucis accipe. Inter chriſtiani nominis profeſſores duas ego tantum agnoſco claſſes, evangelicos & papiſtas. Hos qui tanquam infallibiles dominium ſibi arrogant in aliorum conſcientias. Illos qui quærentes unicè veritatem, illam & ſibi & aliis, argumentis ſolùm rationibuſque perſuaſam volunt; aliorum erroribus faciles, ſuæ imbecillitatis

becillitatis haud immemores; veniam fragilitati & ignorantiæ humanæ dantes petentesque vicissim.

Hyems jam ingravescens & pulmonibus meis infesta me brevi urbe expellet; & abitum suadet invalescens tussis & anhelitus. Iter in Galliam dudum propositum languescere videtur: quid fiet nescio, sed ubicunque fuero totus ubique tuus sum. Saluto Uxorem tuam optimam liberosque amicosque nostros communes Veeneos, Guneloneos, Clericos. Accepi nuper à D° Guenelone epistolam 3. Octobris datam, pro quâ nunc per te gratias reddere cupio, ipsi primâ datâ occasione responsurus. Vale, vir amicissime, & me ama

18 *Octob.* *Tui amantissimum,*

J. LOCKE.

JOANNI LOCKE
PHILIPPUS *à* LIMBORCH *S.P.D.*

Amplissime vir,

QUòd literis tuis hactenus non responderim valetudo minus prospera in causa fuit. Aliquot hebdomadibus febricula laboravi, accessere dolores colici acres admo-

admodum ac vehementes. Tandem benignitate divinâ convalui, & ad intermissa studia reversus sum.

Cartesianam illam loquendi formulam ego tecum non capio; cogitationem enim per se existentem non percipio, sed quidem substantiam cogitantem: verùm ne sententiam suam minus candidè proponi querantur, iisdem, quibus illi eam explicant verbis uti necesse habui: ego autem quando me explico, ita loqui non soleo.

Quæ de christianis evangelicis & papistis disseris optima sunt & verissima. Ego utramque classem in omnibus christianorum sectis reperiri credo. Nullum enim cætum ita prorsus corruptum mihi persuadeo, ut nemo in tanto numero sit evangelicus; licet enim cœtus ipse professionem edat papismi, nonnullos tamen in eo latere credo evangelicos, quibus dominatus ille in aliorum conscientias displicet, ac dissentientibus salutem abjudicare religio est. Rursus licet cœtus evangelicam caritatem profiteatur, non adeo in omnibus & per omnia purgatum sperare ausim, quin & degeneres aliquot in eo reperiantur, qui professionis suæ obliti, tyrannidem animo fovent, libertatemque sentiendi quam sibi cupiunt aliis invident. Ita ubique zizania tritico permixta in hoc sæculo habebimus. Evangelicos ego quocunque in cœtu sunt amo ac fraternâ charitate com-

complector. Papiſtas licet ejuſdem mecum cœtus membra, tanquam ſpurios chriſtianos conſidero, nec genuina eſſe corporis Chriſti membra agnoſco, utpote charitate, ex qua diſcipulos ſuos agnoſci vult Chriſtus, deſtitutos.

Bibliopolæ Churchill tradetur faſciculus, quem ad te mittet, complectens Hiſtoriam Inquiſitionis, quam cum epiſtola addita Franciſco Cudworth Maſham tradi velim: addidi tria defenſionis meæ contra Joannem Vander Wayen exemplaria, quorum unum tibi, alterum Franciſco, tertium D° Coſte deſtinavi. Adverſarius meus ſe reformatum vocat: an evangelicus an verò papiſta ſit, tu dijudicabis. Amicorum hortatui obſecutus ſum: verùm bonas meas horas melioribus ſtudiis deſtinavi, nec facile me iſtiuſmodi ſcriptis inde denuo avelli patiar. Ut ſcias quo reſpiciam, quando de ſpatiis imaginariis ultra polos loquor, adſcribam lineas aliquot ex tractatu quodam Wayeni contra Spanhemium, quibus Spanhemio geographiæ ignorantiam objicit, ipſe adeo rudis, ut diſcrimen inter gradus longitudinis & latitudinis prorſùs ignoret. Hæc ſunt ejus verba: † *Ridere in calce ſi lubeat, lege quæſo Diſſertat. Hiſtor. p.* 298. *Americæ longitudinem*

† *Spanhemii Epiſt. ad amicum, & neceſſ. animadverſ. p.* 72. *& ſeqq.*

protendit (Spanhemius) *ultra* 180 *gradus. Fortè pars ejus in spatiis imaginariis collocanda erit! cùm hactenus ab uno polo ad alium non ultra* 180 *gradus ponant geographi. Arcticæ & antarcticæ terræ partibus nullus jam locus erit, ubi America ultra polos ignorantissimè protenditur. Cave credas* (Spanhemio) *adeo crasse philosophanti, cùm ad mathesin ventum est.* Monitus ab amico, rescisso hoc folio aliud substituit; sed libellus jam toto Belgio dispersus erat, & in omnium officinis prostabat. Vide cum quali heroë mihi res sit. Hyemem hanc sine gravi incommodo ruri ut transigas voveo. Domino ac Dominæ Masham, totique familiæ officiosissimam à nobis dicas salutem. Uxor ac filia te plurimum salutant, imprimis ego

Amstelod. 9 *Dec.* 1698.

Tui amantissimus,

P. à LIMBORCH.

JOANNI LOCKE
PHILIPPUS *à* LIMBORCH *S.P.D.*

Amplissime vir,

LIteras tuas vir eruditissimus fideliter mihi ante duos circiter menses tradidit. Edidit Wayenus dissolutionem Defensionis

ſionis meæ, verùm adeo diſſolutam, maledicam, & nihil ad principale argumentum facientem, ut ſponte evanitura ſit. Ego nolo mihi cum tam impotenti adverſario quicquam negotii eſſe. Ut exiguum aliquod ſpecimen tibi referam, carpit quòd dixi indolem, qua à litibus abhorreo, mihi eſſe innatam; atque propterea me criminatur quòd glorier de propriis meis viribus, ſe verò omnia gratiæ divinæ adſcribere jactat, idque duabus aut tribus primis foliis plus ſexies repetit: talis farinæ totus eſt liber. Si dixiſſem me natura eſſe propenſum ad odium Dei & proximi, fuiſſem illi orthodoxus. Hanc ſibi indolem naturalem agnoſcit: actiones verò ejus oſtendunt, regenerationem (quam ſibi tribuit) admodum eſſe imperfectam, partemque irregenitam multùm prædominari regenitæ. D. Clericus edidit Gallicè ſua *Parrhaſiana*, in quibus de variis diſſerit, & paucis etiam hunc hominem perſtringit: verùm accuratiorem illius refutationem Latinam brevi editurus eſt. Prodiit etiam alterius docti viri tractatus, quem tibi in Anglia oſtendit. Quænam de illo aliorum futura ſint judicia brevi audiemus. Multa ſupponit tanquam certa, quæ mihi incertiſſima ſunt aliis falſa habebuntur.

Legi nuper Cambdeni Hiſtoriam Angliæ ſub Elizabetha, in cujus parte II, anno 1579,

hæc verba reperi: *Execranda Matthæi Hammonti impietas, quæ in Deum Christumque ejus Norwici hoc tempore debacchata est, & cum illius vivicomburio, ut spero, extincta, oblivione potiùs est obruenda quàm memoranda.* Velim Cambdenus paulo distinctiùs impietatem illam indicasset, ut de criminis, quod tam horrendo supplicio vindicatum fuit, atrocitate constare possit. Scimus innoxios quandoque errores à theologis blasphemias & impietates execrandas vocari, ut crudelitati qua in dissentientes sæviunt, prætextum quærant. Frustra ego hactenus in autoribus, qui mihi ad manum sunt, exactiorem hujus Hammonti historiam quæsivi: non dubito tamen quin ea in scriptoribus Anglis reperiri possit. Si sine tuo incommodo explicatiorem illius narrationem mihi suppeditare queas, rem feceris mihi longè gratissimam. Plura illius generis collegi, quæ in ordinem redigere statui, non ut alios traducam, sed ut omnes à sævitia in dissentientes, quantum in me, deterream. Guenellonus noster plurimam tibi salutem scribi jussit. Literas traditurus est nobili Muscovitæ ad te perferendas, qui propediem hinc in Angliam trajiciet, quod tibi significari voluit. Salutant te ac Dominum & Dominam Masham totamque familiam uxor ac liberi: Francisci Masham epistola mihi perplacet, sed jam non est respondendi otium:

à tali

à tali indole egregia quævis exſpecto. Nominatim illi, ut & D° Coſte ſalutem dices à me

Amſtelod. 23 Junii, 1699. *Tui amantiſſimo,*

P. à LIMBORCH.

JOANNI LOCKE
PHILIPPUS *à* LIMBORCH *S.P.D.*

Vir ampliſſime,

LIteras meas circa menſis Junii finem ſcriptas fideliter tibi eſſe traditas nullus dubito. Indicavit mihi D. Clericus ſibi à te miſſum D. Allix tractatum Anglicum, quo probare contendit, paraphraſtas Judæos æternam filii Dei generationem agnoviſſe. Nuperrimè hîc prodiit tractatus ante plures annos, ut præfatio habet, & argumentum libri clarè oſtendit, ab autore ignoto ſcriptus, qui duos ſcriptores Rittangelium & Voiſinum, idem quod D. Allix aſſerentes, impugnat. Commodâ mihi per nautam mihi notum oblatâ occaſione exemplar illius ad Bibliopolam Churchill tibi porro tradendum, mitto, ut hujus cum tractatu D. Allix collatione inſtituta, de totâ controverſia judices. Ego non video cauſæ principali aliquod creari periculum, etiamſi

argumento hoc, ex Judæorum ſcriptis deprompto, propugnari non poſſet: nec ego tali argumento in diſputatione contra Judæos multum tribuere auſim. Alia ſunt majoris momenti, & quæ fortiùs ſtringunt: verùm hoc ſine occultæ cum fidei hoſtibus conſpirationis ſuſpicione affirmari non patiuntur orthodoxiæ ſemel decretis humanis definitæ, jurati vindices, quibus piaculum eſt vel unum argumentum, licet elumbe ac ſtramineum, modo à zelotis adhiberi ſolitum, omittere, aut de illius evidentia ac robore vel minimum dubitare.

Adfuere mihi nuper aliquot præſtantiſſimi Angli, de quibus, an tibi noti ſint, ignoro. Omnes mihi narraverunt T——— quendam, juvenem Hibernum, & ut audio, non magnificè de ſ. ſcripturæ divinitate ſentientem aliquoties gloriatum de honore, ſibi ab aliquot viris eruditis in patria noſtra exhibito: inter alia etiam amicitiam ac familiaritatem mecum contractam jactare. Miror quid hominem, nunquam mihi viſum, quique ater an albus ſit ignoro, moveat, falſò jactare familiaria mecum habita colloquia. Quoniam autem juſtam mihi cauſam præbet ſuſpicandi, ſimilia eum de noſtra amicitia in Anglia diſſeminaturum, hâc occaſione id ſcribere tibi conſultum duxi; ut ſi quid ſimile jactet rumorem illum falſi coarguere queas. Antehac de D. Clerici amicitia

citia multùm gloriatus eſt; ipſum hunc bis convenit, ſed ſemel in alienis ædibus: verùm ita à Clerico exceptus eſt, ut de conſenſu illius ſecum minime gloriari queat. Sub prælo jam habet D. Clericus aliquot epiſtolas, quibus ſe contra criminationes Cavei, Waeyeni, aliorumque defendit. Semel hoc labore defungi cupit, ideoque pluribus ſimul reſpondet. Vitam Epiſcopii à Marco Teute in Latinum ſermonem verſam, relegi: quædam emendavi; omnia autem ſi emendare cupiam res magni eſſet laboris: addidi etiam quædam, quibus hiſtoria noſtra exteris pleniùs paulo explicatur: verùm quoniam non Remonſtrantiſmi, ſed ſolummodo vitæ Epiſcopii hiſtoriam conſcripſi, intra cancellos rerum ab ipſo Epiſcopio geſtarum continere me debui. Fortaſſe verſio illa, qualiſcunque ſit, brevi prælo ſubjicietur. Vale, vir ampliſſime: ſalutem dices Dominæ Maſham totique familiæ, à me, uxore, & filia, qui omnes tibi ſalutem precantur.

Amſtelod. 3 Auguſt. 1699.

Tui Amantiſſimus,

P. à LIMBORCH.

PHILIPPO à LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE S.P.D.

Vir amplissime,

NUdiustertiùs tractatum contra Rittangelium quem mihi misisti accepi. Benignè mecum actum erit si hoc nomine mihi ignoscas tarditatem responsi ad literas tuas tertio Augusti datas. Nondum mihi vacui temporis satis datum est ut Allixii librum hoc de argumento aggrederer, qui mirus plerisque primo auditu visus est, quòd trinitatis doctrinam è synagoga haurire præ se fert. Accingam me quamprimùm jam per otium liceat ad utriusque lectionem; multi enim ut audio apud nos dictitant quæstionem hanc priùs non intellectam jam primùm in lucem produxisse Allixium, & suis fundamentis innixam mundo obtulisse. Quas partes hac in controversia habent Judæi, perpensis utrinque argumentis jam videbimus.

Hibernum quem nominas vanæ hujusmodi gloriolæ avidum ex aliis audivi; si de te tuaque amicitia aliquid jactitet apud communes amicos familiaresque meos, quam omnino tibi ignotus sit ex me scient.

Criminationes hujusmodi adversariorum quibuscum res est Domino Clerico an negli-

gendæ

gendæ an refutandæ haud facile eſt ſtatuere. Quidam enim non aliud quærunt niſi calumniandi rixandique anſam. Non dubito quin amicus noſter ſatis habet quod reſpondeat. Ego ſane laudo tuum conſilium qui placidè juxta ac ſolidè refutaveris quæ contra te malignè ſcripſerat Wayenus. De controverſiarum quæ me aliquamdiu exercuerunt eventu etiamſi non multum habeam quod querar, piget tamen pœnitetque tantum temporis mihi ſuffuratum quod aliis ſtudiis majore cum fructu poterat impendi. Si quæ novæ oriantur vellicationes, eas inpoſterum mihi negligendas cenſeo.

Vitam Epiſcopii latinitate donatam lubens viderem; Belgica enim lingua non ſatis mihi nota, ut quam tu edideris legere poſſim. Non dubito quin multa contineat ſcitu & jucunda & utilia, ſive mores privatos reſpicias ſive rerum eo tempore geſtarum hiſtoriam.

Hactenus ad tuas 3 Auguſti datas, ſed quâ excuſatione utar cùm reſpicio ad antiquiores, ſcilicet, menſe Junio ſcriptas. Si delictum conſuetudine delinquendi defendi poſſit, habeo quod dicam, nôſti tarditatem meam hoc in genere. Fac ut ſoles, & inveteraſcentem in me delinquendi morem tu conſuetudine ignoſcendi vincas.

Cùm in noviſſimis tuis de viro magnifico ne verbum quidem, amici tui opinionem

pronus

pronus amplector. Operosè ab aliis quærit, non quod domi habet, sed quod nusquam adhuc reperire potuit, & quod forsan reperiri possit*.

Tractatus viri docti quem in Anglia videram apud vos editus nondum ad manus meas pervenit: de fundamentis quibus tanquam certissimis superstructum censuit minime mihi satisfecit, cùm de iis coram disceptavimus.

Exactiorem Hammonti historiam quæsivi, nondum autem reperi quenquam qui eam mihi explicatiùs tradere possit, vel scriptorem aliquem indicare in quo eam reperire licet. Non tamen desistam. Laudo enim consilium tuum in colligendis hujusmodi exemplis.

Gueneloni nostri literas quas me expectare jusseras nondum vidi, nec nobilem Muscovitam cui tradendæ erant ad me perferendæ. Quo infortunio hoc acciderit nondum scio. Doleo interim mihi ablatam occasionem testandi quam paratus essem inservire peregrino, à tam caro amico adventanti. Illum uxoremque ipsius, socerumque ejus Veenium nostrum officiosissime meo nomine quæso salutes: imprimis autem uxorem liberosque tuos. Vale & me ut facis ama

Lond. 5 *Sept.* 1699.

Tui amantissimum,
J. LOCKE.

* *Mirum viros clariss. latuisse quæ super hac quæstione meditatus est* B. Spinoza. *Vide Epist.* 39, 40, 41. *Oper. posthum. pag.* 519, *& seqq.*

JOAN-

JOANNI LOCKE
PHILIPPUS *à* LIMBORCH *S.P.D.*

Vir amplissime,

LIcet nihil mihi literis tuis gratius sit, absit tamen, ut amicum plurimis ac gravissimis distractum negotiis ad singulis meis respondendum constringi cupiam. Amicitia arithmeticam illam scribendi & respondendi proportionem non requirit, sed in prompto ac benevolo amici animo acquiescit, & bene secum actum credit, quotiescunque amicus aliquam à gravioribus curis respirationem nactus vel tantillum temporis, epistolio, licet breviori, impendit. Ego ex tuis te rectè valere lætus intellexi: Deus hanc tibi diu continuet valetudinem. Anonymi librum contra Rittangelium rectè ad manus tuas pervenisse gaudeo. Ubi eum legeris & cum Alixii libro contuleris, rem mihi facies maximoperè gratam, si vel tribus lineis judicium tuum de utroque ad me scribas.

D. Clerici epistolæ criticæ, quibus pluribus qui calamum in ipsum strinxerunt simul respondet, brevi lucem videbunt. Adversarios habet parùm candidos, & eorum quosdam imperitos admodum ac indoctos; præsertim illum, qui ipsum & me non provocatus invasit. Homo ille omnium imperitus

de

de omnibus judicium pronuntiat, quæque minimè intelligit magno cum ſupercilio carpit. Contra Clericum ſcribit, Philonem à Spencero vocari fabularum ſterquilinium: verùm quòd Spencerus ſcribit de fictitio antiquitatum biblicarum libro, Philoni falſò tributo, quique nuſquam in Philonis operibus exſtat, ille de genuino Philone dicta putat. Et hic heros adeo in Philone hoſpes Clericum malæ fidei in Philone citando accuſare audet. Me ſibi ſeditionem objicere putat, quando triumphum in ſpatiis imaginariis agere jubeo, innumerabili ex fœcunda gente Meneni turba currum fauſtis acclamationibus proſequente: ignarus fœcundam gentem Meneni non ſeditioſos, ſed ſtolidos, quorum magna ubique copia eſt, deſignare. Clerico contra talem adverſarium ſimilem, quanquam non adeo glorioſum propter adverſarii exiguam eruditionem, eventum, qualem tu nuper omnium judicio conſecutus es, prævideo. Scripſit de eo nuperrimè ad me doctus quidam Anglus, qui me præterito anno vidit, his verbis: *Non dubito quin jamdudum audiviſti de indubitata victoria quam amicus tuus D. Locke retulit de Epiſcopo Vigorienſi, in ejus reſponſione ultima ad objectiones Epiſcopi contra librum de Intellectu Humano. Epiſcopus eam vidit, nec multò poſt mortuus eſt. Sed etiamſi diutiùs vixiſſet vix credo eum reſponſurum fuiſſe:*

omnia

omnia enim istic adeo ad vivum demonstrantur, ut nullus locus contradictioni relinquatur.

Exactiorem Hammonti historiam quærendo nolo multùm te fatiges: si absque tuo incommodo eam mihi suppeditare potuisses, gratum fuisset. Credidi ego linguâ Anglicâ exstare historias ecclesiasticas, in quibus hoc hæretici adeo horrendi exemplum prætermissum neutiquam est. Ejusmodi enim orthodoxiæ de hæresibus triumphos zelotæ in suis historiis magnificè deprædicare solent. Sed quoniam illud exemplum tibi obvium non est, ego brevi illa Camdeni narratione contentus ero. Episcopii vitam jam paucas intra hebdomadas prælo subjiciendam credo, quoniam ingens quod sub prælo habebat typographus opus jam jam in lucem proditurum est, ut jam illius præla hujus opusculi editione occupari possint.

De magnifico viro nihil jam audio, nihil etiam ab ipso responsi expecto. Videtur aliquatenus congressum meum vitare, fortasse quia me responsum flagitaturum credit: verùm ego statui eum amplius non urgere, ne responsum, quod declinet, flagitando importunus videar.

Me Guenelloni, quæ de eo scripsisti, prælegisse testes sunt literæ ipsius, quibus has inclusas voluit. Ipse de nobili illo Muscovita pluribus ad te scribit. Salutem quam officiosissimè à nobis dices Dominæ

Masham

Maſham totique familiæ. Salutant te uxor & liberi, imprimis ego

Amſtelod. 2 *Oct.* 1699.

Tui amantiſſimus,

P. à LIMBORCH.

PHILIPPO *à* LIMBORCH. JOANNES LOCKE *S.P.D.*

Vir ampliſſime,

QUod à me petiiſti, quærendo apud veterem hiſtoricum tandem inveni. En tibi igitur Hammonti crimen & vivicomburium.

Matthæus Hammont aratrorum faber ex vico Hetharſet tribus miliaribus a Norwico diſtante reus factus coram epiſcopo Norwicenſi accuſatus, quòd negaverat Chriſtum ſalvatorem noſtrum. Comparenti in judicio objectum eſt, quòd ſequentes propoſitiones hæreticas publicâſſet, nempe quòd N. teſtamentum & evangelium Chriſti pura ſtultitia erat, inventum humanum & mera fabula. Quòd homo in gratiam reſtituitur ſolâ miſericordiâ divinâ ſine ope ſanguinis, mortis, & paſſionis Chriſti. Inſuper quòd Chriſtus non eſt Deus nec ſalvator mundi, ſed

ſed merus homo, peccator, & idolum abominandum, & quòd omnes qui illum colunt ſunt idololatræ abominandi. Item quòd Chriſtus non reſurrexit à morte ad vitam poteſtate ſuæ divinitatis, neque in cœlum aſcendit. Item quòd ſpiritus ſanctus non eſt Deus, nec quidem omnino eſt. Item quòd baptiſmus in eccleſia Dei non eſt neceſſarius, nec uſus ſacramenti corporis & ſanguinis Chriſti. Propter quas hæreſes condemnatus eſt in conſiſtorio, epiſcopo ſententiam pronuntiante 13 die Aprilis 1579, & deinde traditus vicecomiti Norwicenſi. Et quia verba blaſphemiæ (non recitanda) locutus fuerat contra Reginam alioſque è concilio Reginæ ſanctiore, condemnatus eſt à judice Norwicenſi Windamo & prætore Norwicenſi Roberto Wood, ut ei amputarentur auriculæ, quod factum eſt in foro Norwicenſi 13 Maii, & poſtea 12 ejuſdem menſis vivicomburium paſſus eſt in foſſâ caſtelli Norwicenſis.

Hactenus Hollinſhead ad annum 21 Elizabethæ. Huic ſimile exemplum reperio in eodem hiſtorico ad annum Elizabethæ 25. Verba authoris hæc ſunt:

18 die Septembris anno 1583, Johannes Lewes hæreticus obſtinatus, qui negavit deitatem Chriſti, & profeſſus plures alias deteſtandas hæreſes, quales ferè erant prædeceſſoris ſui Hammonti combuſtus eſt Norwici.

Lubet

Lubet etiam duo alia exempla ejusmodi ex alio autore suggerere, quæ tibi etiam forte usui esse possunt in eo quod præ manibus habes argumento. Primum est vivicomburium Bartholomæi Legatt Londinensis anno 1611, & Jacobi primi 9, ob varios errores, hæreses, & blasphema dogmata asserta & publicata præcipuè in his tredecim positionibus sequentibus. Nempe quod symbolum dictum Nicænum illudque alterum Athanasii non continent veram professionem fidei christianæ: vel quod ille ipse non vult profiteri suam fidem secundum illa symbola. Quòd Christus non est de Deo Deus genitus, non factus; sed & genitus & factus. Quòd nullæ sunt in Deitate personæ. Quòd Christus non fuit Deus ab æterno, sed incæpit esse Deus quando carnem assumpsit ex virgine Mariâ. Quòd mundus non fuit factus per Christum. Quod apostoli docent Christum esse merum hominem. Quòd in Deo nulla sit generatio nisi creaturarum. Quòd hæc assertio, Deus factus est homo, contraria est fidei regulæ & blasphemia enormis. Quòd Christus non fuit ante plenitudinem temporis, nisi promissione. Quòd Christus non fuit aliter Deus quàm unctus Deus. Quòd Christus non fuit in forma Dei æqualis Deo, i. e. in substantia Dei, sed in justitiâ & dando salutem. Quòd Christus deitate sua nulla operatus est miracula.

Quòd

Quòd preces Christo non sunt offerendæ.

Hic Bartholomæus Legatt ab Episcopo Londinensi assistentibus consentientibusque aliis reverendis episcopis doctisque clericis hæreseos condemnatus est & brachio sæculari traditus, & deinde igni commissus & combustus in West-smithfield Londini.

Eodem supplicio affectus est Eduardus Wightman, in civitate Lichfield anno 1611, ab episcopo Coventriæ & Lichfield, hæreseos damnatus, ob has sequentes opiniones:

1. Quòd non est trinitas personarum, patris, filii, & spiritûs sancti, in unitate deitatis.

2. Quòd Jesus Christus non est verus naturalis filius Dei, Deus perfectus, & ejusdem substantiæ, æternitatis, & majestatis, cum patre, respectu deitatis suæ.

3. Quòd Jesus Christus est homo solummodo, & mera creatura, & non Deus simul & homo in una persona.

4. Quòd salvator noster Christus non sibi sumpsit carnem humanam ex substantiâ virginis Mariæ matris suæ; & quòd promissio illa, *Semen mulieris conteret caput serpentis*, non adimpleta erat in Christo.

5. Quòd persona spiritûs sancti non est Deus, coæqualis, coæternus, coessentialis cum patre & filio.

6. Quòd tria symbola, sc. Apostolorum, Nicænum, & Athanasii, continent hæresin Nicolaïtarum.

7. Quòd ille, nempe Eduardus Wightman, eſt propheta ille cujus mentio facta eſt xviii Deuteron. his verbis: *Suſcitabo illis prophetam*, &c. Et quòd verba Iſaiæ, *Ego ſolus torcular calcavi*, & Lucæ, *Cujus ventilabrum in manu ejus*, pertinent propriè & perſonaliter eidem dicto Eduardo Wightman.

8. Quod ille, nempe Wightman, eſt perſona illa ſpiritûs ſancti cujus mentio facta eſt in ſcriptura, & paracletus ille de quo loquitur Joannes *c.* xvi. evangelii ſui.

9. Quòd verba ſalvatoris noſtri Chriſti de peccato blaſphemiæ contra ſpiritum ſanctum de ſua perſona intelligenda ſunt.

10. Quòd Elias ille venturus, de quo loquitur Malach. *c.* iv, ſuam perſonam deſignat.

11. Quòd anima æquè ac corpus dormit in ſomno primæ mortis, & eſt mortalis reſpectu ſomni primæ mortis, uti corpus; & quòd anima ſervatoris noſtri Jeſu Chriſti in illo ſomno mortis dormivit æquè ac corpus ejus.

12. Quòd animæ ſanctorum defunctorum non ſunt membra quæ poſſident eccleſiam triumphantem in cœlo.

13. Quod Pœdobaptiſmus eſt ritus abominandus.

14. Quòd celebratio cœnæ dominicæ in elementis panis & vini in eccleſia eſſe non debet; neque baptiſmi in elemento aquæ,

uti

uti nunc in ecclesia Anglicana usus obtinet. Sed baptismus in aqua administrari debet solis adultis à paganismo ad fidem conversis.

15. Quòd Deus ordinavit & misit illum, sc. Eduardum Wightman, ad exequendum suam partem operis salutis mundi, ut suâ doctrinâ suisque monitis mundum liberaret ab hæresi Nicolaïtarum, ut Christus ordinatus fuit & missus ad mundum servandum, & à peccato liberandum morte suâ, & Deo reconciliandum.

16. Quòd christiana religio non integra, sed pars solùm illius prædicatur & admittitur in ecclesia Anglicana.

Hæc ex lingua Anglicana nimis fidus interpres verbatim pene neglectâ latinitatis elegantiâ & sermonis proprietate transtuli, ut dogmata illa hæretica & capitalia quæ supplicium illud meruerunt, tibi, ut apud nos memoriæ mandantur, perfectè innotescerent. Si qua alia hujus generis exempla apud nos extant, si cupias, ex nostra historia eruam & ad te mittam.

Dum hæc præ manibus haberem, allata mihi est gratissima tua 2. hujus mensis scripta epistola adjunctis duabus aliis. Sentio te eundem semper quem fueras, facilem, dulcemque amicis.

Quamprimùm per otium licebit Allixii & anonymi libros mihi perlegendos proponam nec oscitanter. Quandoquidem in eo

cardine ſummam quæſtionis verſari creditum eſt. Gaudeo D. Clerici Epiſtolas Criticas propediem proditurus; ut brevi confoſſis adverſariis in pace vacet ſtudiis melioribus. Controverſiarum enim tædium ingens, fructus exiguus. De magnifico viro idem quod tu planè ſentio, nec ultra fatigandum cenſeo. Guenellonis epiſtolæ amicæ brevi reſpondebo. Hos ambos interim rogo officioſiſſimè meo nomine ſalutes ut & uxorem tuam & filiam. Dominam Guenellon Veeneumque reliquoſque amicos noſtros communes. Vale & ut facis me ama

Lond. 7 *Octob.* 1699.

Tui amantiſſimum,

J. LOCKE.

JOANNI LOCKE
PHILIPPUS *à* LIMBORCH *S.P.D.*

Ampliſſime vir,

PRo labore quem meo rogatu ſuſcepiſti, maximas tibi habeo gratias. Gaudeo me ex literis tuis didiciſſe, quæ, Epiſcoporum illius temporis judicio, horrenda illa crimina fuerint, non niſi atrociſſimo ignis ſupplicio luenda. Video quandoque unum idemque

idemque dogma diverſis verbis enuntiari, atque ita quòd uno comprehendi poterat articulo, in plures diſtendi, proculdubio ut plurium hæreſium reatus tam attroci ſupplicio prætexi poſſit. Malim dogmata ipſis eorum, qui ea profeſſi fuerint, verbis legere expreſſa; ſic certus forem, me non legere conſequentias, ſed ipſa dogmata, eaque non terminis odioſis concepta, forte in alienum ſenſum detorta, ſed ipſis autorum verbis nudè & candidè enuntiata, nihilque continentia niſi quòd ipſe, cujus cauſa agitur, pro ſuo agnoſcit. Quando autem procedendi modum video, ad ſancti tribunalis inſtar omnia exactè eſſe conformata, non ſine dolore, agnoſco. Bartholomæi Legatt ſupplicium, verùm ſuppreſſo illius nomine, laudat Caſaubonus, in epiſtola dedicatoria in Exercit. ad Baronium. Wightmani ſupplicium paucis narrat Gilbertus Clerke in Antinicæniſmo contra Bullum, p. 30. Utriuſque autem latiùs deſcribit Gerardus Croeſius Hiſtoriæ Quakerianæ lib. iii. p. 479. Verùm licet non penitùs illorum ſupplicio-rum ignarus ſim, rem mihi feciſti longè gratiſſimam, quòd pleniorem hæreſium ipſis attributarum hiſtoriam miſeris: multa hactenus mihi ignorata, & ſcopo meo apprimè inſervientia, me docuiſti. Verùm unum eſt quod deſidero, nomen autoris ex quo hiſtoriam Legati & Wightmanni habes; illud

enim in epiſtola tua non reperio. Tum & leviculum erratum, fortaſſe calami feſtinatione, commiſſum eſt. Ais Hammonto auriculas amputatas in foro Norwicenſi 13 Maii, & poſtea 12 ejuſdem menſis illum vivicomburium paſſum. Atqui dies duodecimus antecedit decimum tertium. Præter hæc ſupplicia legi in Burneti Hiſtoria Reform. Eccl. Angl. ad annum 1549, ſub Eduardo VI, vivicomburium Johannæ Bocheræ, ſeu Johannæ de Kent, & Georgii Van Pare, utrumque ſatis diſtinctè deſcriptum: itaque nihil eſt quod hîc deſidero.

Verùm in Mennonitarum ſcriptis, ad annum 1575, reperio ſub Elizabetha ſævam contra Mennonitas è Belgio profugos excitatam perſecutionem. Narrant nimirum, cœtus ſuos in Anglia fuiſſe diſturbatos, aliquot ſuorum in carcerem conjectos, quorum quinque, poſt varias diſputationes & comminationes mortis, ad profeſſionem religionis reformatæ adacti ſunt: qui nihilominus in cœmiterio Divi Pauli publico ſpectaculo fuêre expoſiti, ſingulorumque humero rogus fuit impoſitus, quod deſignabatur ignis ſupplicium fuiſſe meritos. Quatuordecim mulieres navibus ſunt impoſitæ, juvenis quidam currui alligatus flagris cæſus, unaque cum mulieribus regno exire juſſus, intentatâ pœnâ mortis ſi redirent. Quinque viri in ſqualido ac profundo carcere detenti ſunt,

quorum

quorum unus in carcere diem ſuum obiit. Miniſtri Belgicarum & Gallicarum Eccleſiarum Londini reliquos quatuor in ſuam ſententiam pellicere conabantur. Tandem Julii die 22, duo maximi natu, Johannes Petri & Henricus Terwoord eodem in loco, in quo antehac reformatis ignis ſupplicium irrogatum fuit, vivi combuſti & in cineres redacti ſunt, &c. Hiſtoriam hanc ſatis diſtinctè, multiſque circumſtantiis veſtitam narrant Mennonitæ. De hiſce nihil prorſus ſcribit Cambdenus; ſolummodo ad annum 1560 refert Elizabetham anabaptiſtas & id genus hæreticos, qui in maritima Angliæ oppida ex tranſmarinis regionibus ſpecie declinandæ perſecutionis convolârant, & ſectarum virus in Anglia ſparſerant, è regno intra viginti dies excedere imperâſſe, ſive illi indigenæ ſive exteri, ſub pœna incarcerationis & bonorum amiſſionis. Velim ſcire, ſi levi labore fieri poſſit, an quæ de ſupplicio hoc narrant ſcriptores Angli, conſentanea ſint illis, quæ hîc ex Mennonitarum ſcriptis excerpſi. Talia in reformationis opprobrium cedunt. Mihi enim perindè chriſtianæ charitati adverſari videtur tribunal de fide, ſive id prope Tiberim, ſive Lemannum, ſive Thameſin conſtituatur: eadem quippe exercetur crudelitas, licet alio in loco & ab aliis hominibus. Et ut noſtrate proverbio dicitur, idem eſt Monachus, ſed

alio indutus cucullo. Judicium tuum de Allixii & Anonymi libro audire geſtio. In hoc argumento quæſtionis cardinem verti à veſtratibus credi miror. Ego nihil cauſæ principali contra Judæos deeſſe credo, etiamſi hoc argumento deſtituatur. D. Clerici Epiſtolæ Criticæ nondum prodeunt; propediem verò eas expectamus. Vale, vir ampliſſime.

Amſtelod. 6 Nov. 1699.

Tui amantiſſimus,

P. à LIMBORCH.

PHILIPPO *à* LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE *S.P.D.*

RECte quidem mones, vir ampliſſime, errore feſtinantis calami tranſpoſiti ſunt characteres numerales, & 12 ſcriptum pro 21: nam 21 Maii Hammontus paſſus eſt vivicomburium. Quereris inſuper, idque non ſine cauſa, quòd nomen auctoris, ex quo hiſtoriam Legati & Wightmanni hauſi, omiſſerim. Id autem negligentiâ non factum meâ eſt. Libellus proſtat Anglicè, cui titulus, *The hiſtory of the firſt fourteen years of King* James; i. e. Hiſtoria quatuordecim primorum annorum Jacobi Regis. Autor nomen ſuum tacuit,

tacuit. Huic libello annectitur ad finem tractatulus cui titulus, *A true relation of the commissions and warrants for the condemnation and burning of* Bartholmew Legatt *and* Edward Wightman, *the one in* West Smithfield, *the other in* Litchfield, *in the year* 1611, *signed with King* James's *own hand.*

De Mennonitis quod quæris nondum aliquid ex nostris historicis eruere mihi contigit quod tibi satisfaciat, vel lucem afferat: forsan quia idonei hîc rure non ad manus sint scriptores quos consulam. Ne tamen tibi in tam desiderato opere quicquam quod in me est opis tibi desit, id negotii dedi ingenuo doctoque amico, ut si qua opera reperire possit inter authores nostros illius rei monumenta, id totum, quicquid est, excerptum ad me transmittere velit. Quamprimum aliqua testimonia ad rem tuam facientia mihi oblata fuerint, tibi confestim transmittenda curabo.

Allixii librum quamprimùm prodiit coëmi animo legendi, sed otiosè hactenus præ manibus jacuit, nec dum sive per valetudinem sive per alias avocationes legere licuit, spero propediem pinguius & fructuosius otium. Quid de eo audias interim mihi dicas. Quidam apud nos valdè paradoxum credunt doctrinam trinitatis Judæis tribuere & stabilimentum istius dogmatis è synagoga petere. Alii e contra dictitant hoc jugulum

causæ

caufæ effe; & hoc fundamento ftabiliri orthodoxiam & everti omnia Unitariorum argumenta. Quid ipfa res doceat aveo videre, opem enim in hac caufa à Judæis & Rabbinis olim non expectavi. Sed lux femper gratiffima undecunque affulgeat.

Domina Mafham reliquique ex hac familia te plurimum falvere jubent. Nofque omnes tibi tuifque omnibus felicem annum exoptamus. Vale, vir optime, & ut facis me ama

Oates, 6 Jan. 1700. *Tui amantiffimum,*

J. LOCKE.

Veenium, Guenellonem, Clericum, reliquofque noftros quæfo meo nomine officiofiffimè falutes, quibus omnibus felicem hujus fæculi exitum & futuri introitum opto.

JOANNI LOCKE
PHILIPPUS *à* LIMBORCH *S.P.D.*

Vir ampliffime,

QUod hactenus ad amiciffimas tuas filuerim, ulla tui oblivione factum credas nolim. Multa refponfum diftulere; præcipuè quidem triftis ille cafus tibi fatis notus

tus, & mœror indè contractus. Ego ad ſtudia, hoc infelici caſu multum languentia, reverſus ſum; recuperata jam ſanitate, quæ valdè afflicta fuit. Relegi epiſtolam tuam; video nihil eam continere quod promptum reſponſum flagitet; attamen benevolus tuus affectus, quo propoſitum meum promovere contendis, citius merebatur reſponſum: tu autem tarditatem facilè condonabis mœrori meo.

De Bilibra hîc apud nos altum eſt ſilentium. Verùm vidi reverendiſſimum epiſcopum Bathonienſem & Wellenſem in præfatione tertiæ partis contra Judæos, eam breviter & generatim oppugnaſſe. Ego velim genuinum ſtatum controverſiæ ingenuè ac terminis minimè ambiguis proponi, & argumenta candidè ac ſolidè in utramque partem expendi, quod prolixiorem tractatum & animum non ſtudio partium abreptum, ſed veritatis ſincerè ſtudioſum requirit. Prodiit hac hyeme liber Gallicè ſcriptus, cui autor titulum præfixit, *Le Platoniſme devoilé*. Autorem jam obiiſſe præfatio docet. Dicitur in Anglia ſcriptus, indeque huc miſſus ut in lucem edatur. Quamvis eruditus ſit tractatus, multis diſpliciturum credo: & licet ego diſcrepantes de religione ſententias ſine ulla erga autores indignatione inveſtigare ſoleo, non poſſum tamen diſſimulare, aculeatos ipſius ſarcaſmos in materia ſacra

mihi

mihi quam maxime displicere: licet enim credere posset, adversarios quos oppugnat illos meruisse; materiæ tamen quam tractat majestas cohibere eum debuisset, ne hîc quicquam gravitati christianæ adversum immisceret. Tum & prudentiæ fuit, mordacibus ejusmodi sarcasmis adversariorum contra se ac suos indignationem, aliàs satis acrem, non magis exacerbare. Audio plura illius exemplaria in Angliam esse missa; quare a te visum esse nullus dubito.

Burmanni filios, dehortantibus nequicquam amicis, contra me tractatum scripsisse aiunt, eumque jam sub prælo esse, ac brevi proditurum: Waeyenum habuere continuum instigatorem, qui cùm Burmannum purgare non potuit, illius filios in me concitavit, ut ipsi sub specioso defendendi patris prætextu, inanem in se ac inglorium laborem susciperent: non enim verba parentis sui, nec Spinozæ, è libris editis eradere possunt; neque inficiari eadem esse quæ in Spinoza, & parentis sui Synopsi Theologiæ leguntur verba. Quæstio facti est, quæ prolatis ex utroque autore testimoniis, in dubium vocari nequit. Ego talia scripta maxima animi serenitate contemnere possum. Vale, vir amplissime. Salveat Domina Masham cum tota familia. Omnes mei te salutant.

Amstelod. 11 *Maii* 1700.

Tui amantissimus,
P. à LIMBORCH.

JOHAN-

JOANNI LOCKE
PHILIPPUS *à* LIMBORCH *S.P.D.*

Amplissime vir,

ANte hebdomadas aliquot tuo nomine mihi datus est præstantissimus tuus de Intellectu Humano liber in linguam Gallicam versus. Pro eximio illo dono grates tibi quas possum maximas ago. Nondum eum legere potui; verùm nunc instant feriæ meæ quibus ejus lectionem destinavi. Materiæ enim quæ in illo tractatur gravitas ac varietas, quam ex capitum indice didici, summam animi attentionem, & continuatam minimeque interruptam lectionem requirit. Itaque tempus quo a quotidianis negotiis immunitatem habeo, illi impendam, ut tanto majore meo cum fructu eum evolvam.

Legi in novellis nostratibus, quod & D. Clericus literis tuis confirmavit, te ob ætatem ingravescentem & valetudinem minus firmam honoratissimi muneris ante aliquot annos tibi demandati dimissionem obtinuisse. Equidem institutum tuum minime improbare possum, quinimo laude dignum censeo, quòd extremos vitæ tuæ dies procul a strepitu politico, quieti, studiis ac meditationibus sacris consecrare, quàm negotiis honestis quidem, attamen nihil ultra vitæ hujus tranquillitatem

quillitatem ſpectantibus, implicatos habere malueris. Hanc tibi quietem ex animo gratulor, Deumque precor ut ſenectutem tuam eximiis, quibus vera paratur felicitas, donis magis magiſque exornet, ac quicquid corpuſculi viribus decedit, vivaciore mentis acie & ſpiritus robore compenſet.

Tandem prodiit contra me *Burmannorum Pietas*, is libri titulus eſt: mole ingens, verboſus, contumelioſis plurimis declamationibus & invectivis refertus. Illi per D. Crucium, fratrem ſuum uterinum, a civitate Leidenſi in collegium rerum maritimarum deputatum, mihi pietatis ſuæ exemplar tradi voluerunt. Legi illam ſed cum nauſea; & niſi in me ſcriptus fuiſſet liber, lectionem abſolvere non potuiſſem. Illi in eo ſummis viribus probare nituntur, parentem ſuum à me Spinoſiſmi accuſatum; & eum prolixè excuſare contendunt. Ægerrime ferunt, parenti ſuo à me adſcribi imprudentiam, & quòd ſine judicio Spinozam ſecutus ſit. Aiunt parentem ſuum hæc ex Spinoza cum judicio exſcripſiſſe, ut merè Carteſiana: Spinozam enim in eo libro ſuam doctrinam nec apertè inculcâſſe, nec tectè inſinuâſſe, ſed ſola Carteſii dogmata tradidiſſe. Verùm ego non credo Carteſianos hæc quatuor pro ſuis agnituros. 1. Tota natura naturata non eſt niſi unicum ens. 2. Poſſibilitas & contingentia non ſunt affectiones rerum ſed intel-

intellectus noſtri defectus. 3. Si homimines clarè totum ordinem naturæ intelligerent, omnia æquè neceſſaria reperirent, ac omnia illa quæ in Matheſi tractantur. 4. De extraordinaria Dei potentia qua miracula facit, non immeritò valde dubitari poſſe: quæ tamen omnia in illo Spinozæ libro diſertis verbis reperiuntur. Sarcaſmis plurimis in paralleliſmum inter Spinozæ & Burmanni verba ludunt; verùm nihil in eo reprehendere aut falſi arguere poſſunt. Ego illi libro nihil reponam, præſertim cùm ob molem ſuam non diſtrahatur & à nemine legatur.

Verſiculos in me narratur ſcribere Cinna:
Non ſcribit, cujus carmina nemo legit.

Idem mihi cum Martiale dicere licet. Addo, quòd quicunque meam contra Waeyenum defenſionm legerit, novâ defenſione non indigebit: qui eam legere non vult, illi nec decem apologiis ſatisfecero. Vale, vir ampliſſime.

Amſtelod. 20 *Julii,* 1700.

Tui amantiſſimus,

P. à LIMBORCH.

Jo-

JOANNI LOCKE
PHILIPPUS *à* LIMBORCH *S.P.D.*

Amplissime vir,

HAc æstate binas ad te literas dedi, quas ad manus tuas pervenisse spero. Dolerem si aberrassent. Nunc ad te mitto Vitam Episcopii, ante plures annos, uti nôsti, à me linguâ Belgicâ scriptam, & præfixam concionibus aliquot Episcopii, quarum exemplar illo tempore ad te misi. Quoniam nunc Latino sermone prodit, à nostro Marco Teute cùm in Angliâ esset versa, illius ad te duo mitto exemplaria, quorum alterum filio Dominæ Masham trades, alterum ut benigno à me recipias vultu rogo. Videbis ibi specimen aliquod persecutionis in patriâ nostrâ, libertatis asylo, institutæ; undè quomodo erga integras ecclesias, & ingenuos veritatis confessores, passim sævitum fuerit, facile colliges. Utinam & hodie omnes hanc sævitiam detestentur! verùm quâ nunc fruimur quietem non moderatioribus Ecclesiastarum consiliis, sed magistratûs prudentiæ & benignitati debemus; quæ nisi igneum illorum zelum compesceret, eadem nos hodie, quæ olim majores nostros, procella obrueret. Jam magnam libri tui eruditissimi partem maximâ cum voluptate legi. Omnia

mihi mirificè placent. Verùm quoniam non tantam linguæ Gallicæ quam Latinæ cognitionem habeo, aliquando ut vim phrasium Gallicarum intelligam, atque mentem tuam distinctè percipiam, bis terve quædam mihi relegenda sunt; quòd lectionem mihi aliquanto tardiorem reddit: verùm molestiam hanc dilucidâ veritatis explicatione, argumentorumque quibus eam adstruis pondere abunde compensas. Quando ad finem pervenero, caput xxi. *de la puissance*, ubi prolixè de voluntate ac hominis libertate in volendo disseris, relegam: quædam enim ibi habes nova, quæ attentum requirunt lectorem. Ego totum ubi perlegero, candidè meum tibi judicium scribam. Verùm vix credo me in quoquam a te dissensurum, adeo omnia quæ legi mihi probantur. Vale, vir amplissime, & salve à me ac meis: salutem etiam officiosissimam dices D. Masham totique familiæ.

Amstelod. 30 *Oct.* 1700.

Tui amantissimus,

P. à LIMBORCH.

JOANNI LOCKE
PHILIPPUS à LIMBORCH S.P.D.

Amplissime vir,

PRælegit mihi hisce diebus Guenellonus noster epistolam tuam, quæ te cum astmate graviter conflictari nuntiabat. Equidem valetudinem tuam afflictam ex animo doleo, eamque tibi firmiorem precor. Sed non sine admiratione ex literis tuis intellexi, te binas tantum hoc anno à me accepisse; cùm circa finem mensis Octobris tertias scripserim, quibus addidi duo vitæ Episcopii, a Marco Teute latinitate donatæ exemplaria, unum tibi, alterum Francisco Cudworth-Masham, unà cum literis ad ipsum, quæ jam dudum tibi reddita nullus dubitabam. Fasciculus quatuor comprehendebat exemplaria, quorum reliqua duo destinata erant rev. episcopis Salisburiensi, ac Bathoniensi & Wellensi. Doleo interim etiam epistolam aberrâsse, in quâ scripsi magnam me libri tui partem legisse, omniaque maximopere mihi probari. Postea retulit mihi amicus, se Cartesii quosdam sequaces, a quibus aliquot ex prioribus capitibus lecta erant, convenisse; illis maximè displicuisse duo, quæ ego verissima duco; nullas videlicet dari ideas innatas, & animam non esse nudam cogitationem

nem. Verùm quid aliud à Cartesii sequace expectes? Alios audivi magnopere librum tuum laudantes, & sententiæ tuæ applaudantes. Ego summâ delectatione illum legi, & etiamnum lectionem illius continuo. Verùm quoniam non tam exactam linguæ Gallicæ cognitionem habeo, ut phraseon quarundam Gallicarum vim primâ lectione assequar, præsertim in materia subtili & arduâ cogor nonnunquam, ut distinctè mentem tuam percipiam, lectionem aliquoties repetere. Gratissimum foret, si librum tuum latinitate donatum conspicere quandoque daretur; tum faciliùs quæ scripsisti intelligerem, & fortasse de quibusdam quæ de libertate hominis in volendo scripsisti, tecum conferrem. Valde quæ ibi scribis mihi probantur: video te terminos aliquot obscuros aut ambiguos in illâ materia elucidâsse; sed nescio an ubique mentem tuam perceperim: relegam integrum caput, & si quid occurrat ad quod hæsito, ingenuè ac rotundè ad te scribam, planè persuasus dilucidâ tuâ explicatione omnem (si quæ sit) obscuritatem disparituram. Sed & ingenuè tibi confiteor, mœrorem sæpe meditationes meas, quas studiis consecravi, turbare. Verùm dabit Deus his quoque finem. Ego ut honestâ & non inutili occupatione mœroris mei tædium diluam, incepi Commentarium in Acta Apostolorum conscribere, sed novâ quâdam ra-

tione ac methodo. Criticos egerunt Grotius aliique quorum laboribus mea diligentia nihil addere potest. Itaque omissâ criticâ aliam mihi interpretandi methodum præscripsi; ut ex historia apostolorum, variisque illius circumstantiis, ac præsertim eorum concionibus, religionis christianæ veritatem ac divinitatem asseram, & quâ methodo apostoli contra Judæos eam adstruxerint ostendam. In hisce explicandis prolixior paulo sum: reliqua huc non spectantia obiter tantum attingo. Quibus alia contra Judæos disputandi methodus placet, meum laborem non probatum iri, facile prævideo. Sed veritati litandum est; & apostolos duces sequi præstat, quam homines affectibus ac præjudiciis nimium indulgentes. Vale, vir amplissime. Deus pristinam tibi restituat sanitatem, ut quoad vivis egregiis tuis laboribus publico inservire possis. Salutant te quam officiosissimè uxor mea liberique. Salutem à nobis dices Dominæ Masham totique familiæ.

Amstelod. 18 *Febr.* 1701.

Tui Amantissimus,

P. à LIMBORCH.

PHI-

PHILIPPO à LIMBORCH.
JOANNES LOCKE S.P.D.

Vir colendissime,

EX ultimis tuis 18 præsentis Februarii datis probè sentio quam firma, quam immutabilis sit tua erga me amicitia, cùm tribus ante missis ad me silentem literis quartas addere non dedignatus es, sine reprehensione ulla tantæ & tam criminosæ taciturnitatis. Ignoscis video, ideoque valetudinis incommoda non causabor. Penultimas tuas cum fasciculo librorum vel amissas vel in itinere malè hærentes maximè doleo, quod crediderim te sensum tuum de libro meo jam tum cum scriberes perlecto liberius explicuisse. Quòd de iis quæ de libertate hominis in volendo scripserim aliquantum hæsitas non miror. Totum illud argumentum in prima editione penitùs omittendum censui, sed noluerunt amici, quicquid ego de rei ipsius & novitate & subtilitate contra afferrem, ne lectores aliis assueti ratiocinationibus, non probè perspecto ubique animi mei sensu offenderentur, & ea quæ in isto parergo commentatus sum vel tanquam novatoris paradoxa, vel tanquam inconsultè errantis sphalmata negligerent si non planè condemnarent. Nec me eventus penitùs fe-

fellit, cùm plures inter amicos familiaresque meos de hoc uno subjecto mecum seruere sermones quàm de omnibus reliquis totius libri capitibus. Fateor adhuc neminem fuisse cui scrupulum quo detinebatur, non exemi, si modo dabatur otium sensim & pedetentim integram materiem à capite ad calcem mecum perpendendi: quod quidem rei veritati non meæ quantulæcunque mediocritati tribuendum censeo. Quòd si tibi nova recensione, ut promittis, recurrenti aliqua objicienda occurrunt, persuasum tibi sit nihil acceptius mihi fore quam errores meos amicâ manu detegi eoque ipso evelli: non enim famæ nec opinioni sed veritati soli litandum censeo. Quicquid demum fuerit, disputationes nostras in unam eandemque sententiam terminatum iri pro certo habeo, cùm utrique unam eandemque illibatam veritatem studiosè quærimus.

Gaudeo te Commentarium in Acta Apostolorum meditari, & ejusmodi interpretandi methodum quæ non hæreat in criticis observationibus & verborum cortice. Nullibi magis apparet, ut mihi videtur, scopus geniusque religionis christianæ quam in ea historia. Quid enim magis genuinum sincerumque evangelii sensum nobis indicare possit quam primæ illæ apostolorum prædicationes quibus infideles, tam Gentiles quam Judæos, ad fidem Christi convertebant.

Ad

Ad priores tuas ut aliquando veniam; Laudo consilium tuum quòd *Burmannorum Pietati* minime respondendum censueris: hujusmodi vitiligantium opprobria omnino contemnenda.

Prælum nostrum in fermento est, nec quicquam pene prodire videmus præter disputationes politicas ecclesiasticasque. Quorsum tandem res evadet nescio. Quid minatur turbo video: exitum non video. Tranquillitati quantum possum studeo. Deus optimus maximus ecclesiarum reformatarum & totius Europæ libertatem conservet. Sic precatur

Oates, 22 *Febr.* 170°/₁. *Tui observantissimus*,

J. LOCKE.

JOANNI LOCKE
PHILIPPUS *à* LIMBORCH *S.P.D.*

Amplissime vir,

NUper Transisalani rigoris in causa religionis minimè excusandi exemplum præbuere verè detestandum. Quidam minister Mennonita jam ante annos quindecim synodo suspectus fuit socinianismi, & illius Hæreseos coram ordinibus Transisalanis à mini-

ſtris eccleſiæ publicæ accuſatus. Itaque à muneris ſui functione ſuſpenſus fuit, adeò ut integro circiter biennio eccleſia illius publico religionis exercitio caruerit. Poſt longam actionem, cùm miniſtri accuſationem ſuam probare non poſſent, ipſe ad eccleſiam ſuam fuit remiſſus, eique injunctum, ut ſibi a dogmatibus ſocinianis docendis caveret, ſub pœna arbitraria. Ille ante triennium libellum edidit exigui admodum pretii, quo unionem inter omnes chriſtianorum ſectas ſuadet, etiam cum ſocinianis; quâ occaſione imprudentiùs quædam pro ſocinianis ſcripſit; & alicubi quædam occurrunt aculeata in gentem togatam. Libellus hic ſi contemptus fuiſſet, vix inveniſſet lectores: verùm ſcis gentem illam ſacram vel minimâ injuriâ facilè irritari. Itaque denuo delatus fuit ad Satrapam diſtrictus Vollenho, à deputatis claſſis Vollenho, qui exhibito libello ſupplice petunt, ut hic homo, qui non tantum ſocinianas hæreticas opiniones clam & palam docuit, ſed etiam audaciſſimè edidit, & ſparſit iiſque intolerandos ſarcaſmos ac blaſphemias admiſcuit, ab ipſo Satrapa compellatur coram proxima Synodo libellum hunc palam revocare, & pœnitentiam ob commiſſa teſtari: ut libellus hic flammis tradatur, ac in tota provincia vetetur vendi, ac ſupprimatur: impenſæ quas claſſis ob hanc cauſam ſuſtinere debuit ab

ipſo reſtituantur, ipſeque propter crimen commiſſum pœnâ arbitrariâ afficiatur. Satrapa petitioni huic annuit, hominemque ad ſynodum ablegat. Synodus illi offert quinque articulos ſubſcribendos, quibus continebatur confeſſio, quòd contra mandatum Ordinum libellum iſtum edidiſſet, quòd ipſum inobedientiæ illius pœniteret, quòd omnia libelli ſui exemplaria eſſet ſuppreſſurus; aliaque quibus ipſe ſubſcribere recuſavit. Inſtabant aliqui ex miniſtris, imo obteſtabantur ut ſubſcriberet: verùm ille conſtanter recuſavit. Poſtea dicitur compertum fuiſſe, illos id adeo ardenter cupiviſſe, ut haberent reum confitentem, & ſic propriâ ſuâ confeſſione arbitrariæ pœnæ obnoxium. Hæc geſta ſunt mediâ æſtate anni CIↃ IↃC XCIX. Proximo Januario anni ſequentis a Satrapa in carcerem eſt conjectus, & poſt longam novem vel decem menſium incarcerationem tandem ſententia judicis homini pauperi, tenui victu, & diuturno carceris ſqualore emaciato, mulcta irrogatur centum ducatorum argenteorum, qui conficiunt libras veſtras ſterlingas circiter triginta, nec dimittendus è carcere pronuntiatur, niſi ſolutâ pecuniâ. Ille cùm ſolvendo non eſſet, utpote pauper, in tetrum, fœtidum ac tenebroſum carcerem ſubterraneum detruditur; ubi poſtquam duabus hebdomadibus pane & aquâ vitam toleravit,

tandem

tandem aliud ipsi mandatum exhibetur mense Novembri proxime elapso, quo ipse errores libello ipsius contentos disseminare prohibetur; sub pœna si secus fecerit catastæ & exilii, sine ulla ulteriore forma processus: atque ita è carcere dimittitur. Nunc miser ad extremam inopiam redactus est: omni illius divenditâ supellectile, quæ tamen neutiquam explere potuit mulctam in quam condemnatus erat. Non possum excusare illius imprudentiam: verùm nec possum quin detester hanc sævitiam, præsertim quando in extensione sententiæ leges imperatoriæ ex codice adferuntur, ut fulcra ac fundamenta quibus dura hæc sententia innititur. Sic sensim ad detestandum illud Inquisitionis tribunal relabimur.

Relegi magna cum attentione cap. xxi. lib. ii. tractatus tui de Intellectu Humano. Expendi voces ac phrases quas in materia hac controversa adhibes. Puto me jam plenè mentem tuam percepisse, à qua ego non dissentio. §. 6. optimè doces, intellectum & voluntatem non esse duas facultates revera ab anima distinctas, sed mentem ipsam humanam immediatè per se ipsam intelligere & velle. Inde infers non recte voluntatem dici liberam, sed hominem: rectè etiam meo judicio definis libertatem. Verùm quando dicis, §. 24. libertatem consistere in potentia agendi & non agendi, &

qui-

quidem in eo ſolo: non puto id te reſtringere ad ſolas actiones externas, ſed & extendere ad internas, ſeu cogitationes noſtras; illæ enim non minus quam actiones externæ ſubjectæ ſunt arbitrio noſtro: idque conſentaneum eſt iis, quæ in ſequentibus capitis illius ſcribis. Porro jam inquiris, quod præcipuum eſt, quid ſit illud, quod hominem ad hoc aut illud agendum movet. Ego hactenus ita me explicui; bonum jucundum, ſeu voluptatem eſſe id quod hominem allicit, illique oppoſitum dolorem eſſe malum quod homo averſatur: adeoque quodcunque homo vult, id ab eo conſiderari ut jucundum, quod verò averſatur & fugit, ut moleſtum. Non negas tu illud quinimo id etiam urges §. 41, & ſeqq. Verùm ut diſtinctiùs oſtendas, quâ ratione voluptas aut dolor hominem moveat, doces §. 29, & ſeqq. voluntatem determinari ab inquietudine, quam homo in ſe experitur, aut ex præſentia doloris, aut ex abſentia boni ſeu voluptatis, in qua vel totam vel ſaltem partem ſuæ beatitudinis collocat; quamdiu enim homo in ſtatu ſuo acquieſcit, nullam illius mutationem quærit; ſed ſolummodo quando in ſtatu ſuo non acquieſcit, ſeu quandam inquietudinem, ſive ex præſentia doloris, ſive ex abſentia voluptatis, quam ut felicitatis ſuæ partem conſiderat, in ſe ſentit. In his facile tibi aſſentior. Inde rectè deducis,

bonum

bonum in nobis excitare desiderium, non tamen inde sequi majus bonum semper in nobis majus desiderium excitare. Quod verissimum est & tu rectè probas. Unde porro deducis, libertatem hominis in eo consistere, quod possit suspendere impletionem cujuscunque desiderii sui, plenamque habeat libertatem unum post aliud considerandi, objecta eorum examinandi, eaque ab omni parte observandi, ac inter se comparandi, antequam se determinet ad agendum. Et hoc tecum agnosco. Inde jam infers, *indifferentiam*, quæ non possit determinari per ultimum judicium quod homo fert de bono & malo cujus electionem sequendam credit, esse summam naturæ intelligentis imperfectionem. In Remonstrantium scriptis sæpe vox *indifferentiæ* occurrit, quando de libertate hominis agitur: verùm ea nunquam à nobis hoc sensu accipitur, quòd posito illo ultimo judicio, in quo propriè actus volitionis consistit nihilominus hominis potentia agendi sit indifferens, & per voluntatem non determinetur: sed, quod ante illud voluntatis decretum homo libertatem habet se in hanc vel illam partem determinandi, & non ad unum tantum oppositorum determinatus est: accedente autem voluntatis decreto, seu volendi actu indifferentia illa tollitur, & potentia ad agendum aut non agendum determinatur. Et hîc

etiam

etiam puto nos consentire. Reliqua capitis iis quæ jam recensita sunt magis illustrandis ac confirmandis inserviunt. Puto me hîc sententiam tuam de libertate hominis rectè percepisse. Nec est quòd illi quicquam opponam : imo quædam distinctiùs, & clarioribus quam hactenus à nostris factum est terminis ac phrasibus posse exprimi didici. Si non bene perceperim, aut si quid omiserim, quod ut sententia tua plenè percipiatur, omitti non debuit, rogo ut me erroris admoneas: nolim enim in sententiæ tuæ explicatione, quam prout eam percepi etiam meam esse agnosco ; à mente tua aberrare. Si in quibusdam dissentimus, quod ego ignoro, amicè tecum conferre gestio ut exiguus qui fortè restare posset dissensus, tollatur. Plures tecum de hoc capite contulisse non miror. Materia est intricata & diversis philosophorum ac theologorum sententiis semper agitata. Primus, meo judicio, *Episcopius* in tractatu de *libero arbitrio* & contra Cameronem eam clariùs explicuit, ostenditque intellectum & voluntatem non esse duas facultates revera inter se & ab anima distinctas, uti hactenus in scholis creditum fuit, sed animam immediatè per seipsam intelligere ac velle. Porro licet non iisdem tecum vocibus ac phrasibus utatur, in summâ tamen rei, quantum ego percipio, est consensus. Gratias interim tibi ago, quòd multa me

libri

libri tui editione docueris. Ego eum iterato evolvere ſtatui; ſecundâ enim lectione multò diſtinctiùs eum intelligo. Deum precor ut diu te nobis incolumem ac proſperâ fruentem valetudine conſervet. Uxor ac filia te ſalutant. Salveat quam officioſiſſimè à me, uxore & filiâ, Domina Maſham ejuſque liberi. Vale.

Amſtelod. 30 *Mar.* 1701.

Tui amantiſſimus,

P. à LIMBORCH.

PHILIPPO *à* LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE *S.P.D.*

Vir ampliſſime,

MAgno honori mihi eſſe duco quòd tu tantum lucubrationibus meis tribuas, ut in iis perlegendis bonas tuas horas locare velis: & eas tibi veritatis amatori non diſplicuiſſe gaudeo. Cùm ego libertatem conſiſtere dico §. 24. cap. xxi. lib. ii. in potentia agendi & non agendi nequaquam id reſtringo ad ſolas actiones externas, uti conſtat ex §. 8, 38. aliiſque illius capitis locis: de hoc igitur inter nos convenit. Quando verò dicis quòd *quicquid homo vult, ab eo conſiderari*

ſiderari ut jucundum, metuo ne *voluntatem* cum *deſiderio* confundas. Quod à pleriſque factum video, qui hoc argumentum tractant, non ſine magno veritatis vel ſaltem perſpicuitatis incommodo. *Deſiderium* fertur in jucundum fateor, ſed *voluntas* fertur ſolum in actiones noſtras, & ibi terminatur. Sed quia voluntas rarò agit niſi ducente *deſiderio*, ideo pro uno eodemque actu plerumque ſumuntur cùm toto cœlo diſtent. §. 30. 40. *Cupido* enim paſſio eſt mota à bono abſente. *Volitio* autem actus *voluntatis* vel animæ imperium exercentis in potentias hominis operatrices. Hæ duæ operationes animæ, ſcil. illa quâ cupit aliquid, & illa quâ determinat vel imperat aliquid agendum, niſi diſtinguantur probè, nihil dilucidè, ut mihi videtur, de humana voluntate ſtatui poteſt: ideoque ſpero ignoſces mihi quòd de iſta loquendi forma te monitum velim, cùm de ſumma rei à me omninò non diſſentias. In uſu vocis *indifferentia* quòd à veſtris differam non mirum eſt, cùm in his ſcribendis nec aliorum placita ſecutus ſum, nec vel ſcripta omnino conſuluerim, ſed quæ res ipſæ me, quantum indagatione & meditatione aſſequi poteram, docuerint, ea verbis quam potui aptiſſimis explicuerim. De terminorum igitur uſu nulla inter nos erit diſputatio, modo de re ipſa conſtet. Quamvis ut liberè dicam, iſta antecedens *indifferentia* homi-

hominis, quâ homo, ante determinationem ſive decretum voluntatis, ſupponitur libertatem habere ſe determinandi ad alterutram partem oppoſitorum, non omninò mihi videtur ſpectare ad quæſtionem de libertate; quia libertas unicè conſiſtit in potentia agendi vel non agendi ſecundum determinationem voluntatis. Diſputare autem an homo ante ultimum judicium intellectus libertatem habet ſe determinandi ad alterutrum oppoſitorum, mihi videtur omnino de nihilo ſive de re impoſſibili diſputatio. Quis enim rogaret, vel quorſum attinet rogare, an homo poteſt ad alterutram partem oppoſitorum ſe determinare in ſtatu, in quo ſe non poteſt omnino determinare? Nam ante judicium intellectus non poteſt ſe omninò determinare, ideoque fruſtra quæritur an in illo ſtatu libertatem habet ſe determinandi in alterutram, ubi in neutram omnino partem poteſt ſe determinare. Ideoque omnes illæ lites, quæ agitantur de libertate ſe in alterutram partem determinandi ante judicium intellectus, mihi videntur (ignoſcas fatenti) nullo modo pertinere ad quæſtionem de libertate: quæ ne ſupponi quidem debet nec poteſt, in ſtatu in quo manifeſtum eſt quòd homo ut agens liberum non poteſt agere, cùm libertas, ut dixi, conſiſtat in ſola potentia agendi vel non agendi conſequenter & congruè ad determinationem volun-

voluntatis. Ita autem ſæpe uſu venit. Diſputantium fervor & partium ſtudium rebus per ſe claris nubem & caliginem obducunt, dum undique conquiſitis laqueis alter alterum innodare & abſurdis involvere conatur. Vides quam libere tecum agam, eandem à te libertatem viciſſim expectans; ſi enim tu meæ vel ego tuæ opinioni aſſentior, perinde eſt veritatem quærentibus, dummodo illius potior habetur ſententia quæ verior, & in ea conſentiamus. In aliis libri mei partibus, dum percurras, ſi quid minus rectè dictum vel cogitatum invenias moneri imo & redargui a te cupio. Vale, vir optime, & me ut facis ama

Oates, 21 *Maii*, 1701.

Tui amantiſſimum,

J. LOCKE.

PHILIPPO *à* LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE *S.P.D.*

Vir ampliſſime,

EOdem die quo nuperrime ad te mane ſcripſi, literas tuas 27 Maii datas veſperi accepi. Vitam Epiſcopii ſumma cum voluptate perlegi. Hiſtoria placet, res geſtæ planè diſplicent. Doleo ſane reformatos

 tam

tam propere mores pontificios, de quibus tam graviter questi sunt, imitatos. Sed scire juvat quod cognitum laudare non possis. Inquisitionem quæ in ecclesia Romana lentiùs succrevit, uno quasi nixu inceptam & penè perfectam hîc conspicere mihi videor. An has protestantium inter se inimicitias & mutuas persecutiones jam castigaturus sit Deus nescio: hoc saltem credo, theologorum ambitiosa dissidia & invicem dominandi in fratres cupido orbem reformatum antiquis hostibus denuo obruendum objecit, & in tantum periculum adduxit. Avertat Deus O. M. omen, nec ad persecutionem tam proclives animos persecutione catholicâ puniat. Unum est quod in libro tuo desidero, nempe articulos illos quinque Remonstrantium, quorum tam frequens est mentio. Hos vel quòd in propera lectione non observatos præterierim, vel quòd eos Historiæ tuæ non inseruisti, ignorare me fateor. Rogo igitur ut mihi indicare velis ubi eos legere possim, magnam enim lucem ut mihi videtur præbebunt causam Remonstrantium penitùs cognoscere cupienti: nam iterum credo perlegam hanc tuam Historiam. Maximas pro hoc dono gratias ago. Vive diu utilis religioni christianæ. Vale & me ama

Tui amantissimum,

Oates, 1 Jun. 1701.

J. LOCKE.

JOAN-

JOANNI LOCKE
PHILIPPUS *à* LIMBORCH *S.P.D.*

Amplissime vir,

VItam Episcopii tibi, summi judicii viro, non displicuisse est quod mihi gratuler. Multa exteris ignota ibi esse præterita, quia nobis notissima, nullus dubito. Quinque autem articulos nostros, quorum decidendorum causâ synodus Dordracena convocata fuit nulli ignotos credebam. In explicatione sententiæ Arminii p. 6. in Vitâ Episcopii ego eos brevi in compendio exhibui. Exstant autem in Remonstrantia Ordinibus Hollandiæ CIↃ IↃ CX oblatâ, quam reperies in Epistolis præstantium Virorum à me editis n° cxlv. p. 254. vel in Historiâ Quinquarticulanâ Petri Heilini Anglicâ, cap. 5. p. 50. Si altera Vitæ Episcopii editio aliquando prodeat, possem illi quinque illos articulos aliaque quædam non sine Episcopio gesta, aut ipsum ipsiusve consanguineos spectantia hîc illic inserere, quæ ad Historiæ nostræ cognitionem penitiorem haud exigui futura sunt momenti. Continuavit Brantius noster senior historiam usque ad finem anni CIↃ IↃ CXXIII. in qua gravis illa contra nostros persecutio exactè describitur: verùm illa hactenus lucem non adspexit;

& præ metu ne edatur, ſynodus Hollandica jam ab aliquot annis deputatis ſuis in mandatis dedit, ut ſollicitè invigilent, ne illa alicubi imprimatur. Nolunt enim myſteria illa iniquitatis revelari. Utinam hiſtoriam ſuam continuâſſet ad annum uſque CIↃ IↃC XXXII. quo perſecutioni ubique fermè in patria noſtra finis eſt impoſitus, nobiſque palam in cœtus religioſos convenire non fuit prohibitum. Ex illius lectione deprehendere poſſes veritatem dicti cujuſdam Monachi, quod Marnixius refert in epiſtola ad Caſparum Verheiden, inter Epiſt. ſelectas à Belgis vel ad Belgas, anno 1617, a Baudio & Heinſio editas, cent. 2. epiſt. 51. *Haud æque diu reformatorum ollam calefactam fuiſſe, atque illorum quos tantopere inceſſerent: videre ſe plane, antequam per ſeculorum intervallum labatur, parem utrobique imperii eccleſiaſtici fore rationem.* Scripta eſt hæc epiſtola ult. Mart. 1577.

Legi, relegi, & ſerio expendi, quæ de libertate ſcribis; ſed non deprehendi illum inter nos eſſe conſenſum, quem lecto illo *de potentia* capite credidi. Quia uterque unicè veritatem quærimus, paulo diſtinctiùs terminos quibus uſus ſum explicabo, & ſi qui aptiores ſint, illis lubens utar; amo enim perſpicuitatem; & in veritatis inquiſitione omnem verborum ambiguitatem quantum fieri poteſt vitandam judico. Putas non rectè

dici

dici nos velle jucundum, illud esse desiderium non voluntatem. Desiderium enim ferri in bonum absens; volitionem autem esse actum voluntatis vel animæ imperium exercentis in potentias hominis operatrices. Facilè ego hoc discrimen admitto, & ut perspicuitatis causâ unicuique verbo suam tribuamus significationem utile esse existimo. Verùm ego puto nos duo velle, finem & media quæ ad finem ducunt. Multa desideramus quæ tamen non volumus. Est enim desiderium aliud completum, aliud incompletum; sicut & voluptas alia est completa, alia incompleta, quam barbaro vocabulo in scholis vocant *velleïtatem*, quâ designamus non quid homo propriè velit sed quid vellet. Prudentis est ex multis desiderabilius illud eligere sibique omnium suarum actionum finem proponere, quod undequaque est perfectum, & in quo concurrunt omnes rationes quæ rem desiderabilem faciunt. Atqui illa electio non fit sine determinatione voluntatis, quâ homo decernit hoc bonum, quod omnibus aliis præferendum judicat, sibi omnium suarum actionum finem proponere. Ita ego credidi rectè posse dici, hominis voluntatem in bonum ferri, idque bonum semper ab ipso apprehendi ut jucundum. Si verò credas actionem qua ferimur in bonum illud, impropriè dici voluntatem, sed debere appellari desiderium,

quia fertur in bonum absens, de termino non contendam, modo de illius significatione constet. Ut ergo omnis ambiguitas vitetur, dicamus desiderium ferri in bonum, voluntatem dirigere actiones. Sed caveamus ne quævis desideria confundamus, & desideria completa distinguamus ab incompletis, quæ velleitates, voce in scholis usitata appellari solent. Si verò aliud aptius vocabulum indicare possis, eo lubens utar, ut omnis, quantum fieri potest, obscuritas & ambiguitas in sermone nostro vitetur.

Quod attinet vocem *indifferentia*, certum est nostros eâ non raro esse in hac materia usos: verùm eam non adeo deperimus, quin si commodior nobis offeratur eam repudiaturi simus; eoque magis quia videmus philosophos Cartesianos eâ sensu à nostro planè alieno uti: illis enim *indifferentia* est fluctuatio judicii; quando mens ex rationum pro utraque parte æquilibrio, incerta est quid sibi eligendum sit. Nobis verò *indifferentia* est vis illa animæ, qua positis omnibus ad agendum requisitis potest agere vel non agere. Verùm in tota hac de libertate disputatione video sæpe ludi verbis ambiguis, aut saltem in ambiguum sensum detortis. Optandum foret omnia verba eodem significatu ab omnibus accipi; multæ inanes disceptationes & λογομαχίαι vitari possent. Nunc quoniam in significatione verborum convenire

nire non possumus, necesse est ut quisque explicet, quo significatu unaquaque voce, de quâ contenditur, utatur. Circa rem ipsam video nos dissentire. Dicis, *Ista antecedens indifferentia, quâ homo ante determinationem sive decretum voluntatis supponitur libertatem habere se determinandi ad alterutram partem oppositorum, non omnino mihi videtur spectare ad quæstionem de libertate; quia libertas unicè consistit in potentia agendi vel non agendi secundum determinationem voluntatis.* Mihi planè contrarium videtur, libertatem unicè consistere in potentia qua homo actionem volendi potest determinare vel non determinare: & si eam homo ante voluntatis determinationem non habet quòd non sit liber, neque ullus status concipi possit in quo liber dici queat. Quia enim voluntas actionum nostrarum domina est, easque pro arbitrio moderatur, si determinatio voluntatis non sit libera, nec in actionibus nostris ulla erit libertas, quia actiones nostræ voluntatis determinationem necessariò sequuntur. Quare vix capio, quid velis, cùm dicis ante ultimum judicium intellectus homo non potest se omnino determinare. Verùm antequam hîc sententiam meam explicem, quid per ultimum judicium intellectus significetur, propiùs explicandum est, ne hîc propter ambiguitatem vocis in oratione nostra aliqua sit obscuritas. Communiter

niter ultimum intellectus judicium vocant, quo homo decernit quid ſibi faciendum ſit, idque vocant ultimum judicium practicum intellectus; verùm hoc judicium non eſt tam actus intellectus quam voluntatis, vel ſaltem actus mixtus, ad cujus complementum voluntas concurrit. Judicium autem quod ſolius intellectus actus eſt, non ulteriùs procedit quàm hoc oportet facere, hoc oportet omittere. Ulteriùs ſi procedat, intercedit aliqua actio voluntatis. Quæ duo tamen à multis confunduntur. Jam mea eſt ſententia hominem, quando rectæ rationi conſentaneæ agit, ſemper velle quod intellectus judicat oportere fieri: poſſe tamen etiam contra rationem agere, & voluntatem in contrariam partem determinare: quin &, antequam intellectus poſt accuratum rationum examen judicaverit quid facere oporteat, poſſe bruto impetu agere non quod rationi conſentaneum eſt, ſed quod concupiſcentia dictat. Hîc ſi homo non habet libertatem ſe determinandi aut non determinandi, & actionem ſuam ſuſpendendi, videre nequeo in quo libertas conſiſtat. Eandem tuam eſſe putabam ſententiam, idque colligebam ex §. 47. capitis ſupra nominati, ubi inter alia ais, *animam quæ habet potentiam ſuſpendendi impletionem cujuſcunque deſiderii ſui, ſicuti evidenter patet per experientiam, conſequenter etiam habere libertatem*

ea

ea successivè unum post alterum considerandi, eorum objecta examinandi, ea ex omni parte observandi, & inter se comparandi; & in hoc consistere libertatem hominis: omnemque erroris & vitiorum originem indè arcessis, *quod præcipitemus judicium, voluntatemque nostram cito nimis determinemus, & actioni nos accingamus antequam bene examinaverimus quid agere nos oporteat.* Hæc aliaque quæ ibi addis verissima esse judico; iisque planè assentior. Verùm hæc cum iis quæ epistola scribis, *quod homo ante judicium intellectus se non potest omnino determinare*, conciliare non possum. Fortasse mentem tuam non bene percepi. Rogo itaque, si grave non sit, ut ostendas, quâ ratione hæc inter se conciliare debeam, & distinctiùs quod ego non plenè percepi, explices. Nulli opinioni, nedum phrasi aut voci, ita sum addictus, quin meliora monstranti cedere paratus sim: veritatem enim unicè quæro, quam si invenero, de errore triumphabo.

Hæc scripseram, cùm ad me exemplar Latinum tractatus tui de Intellectu Humano affertur; pro quo eximio dono ego summas tibi habeo ac ago gratias. Statui illud à capite ad calcem perlegere, & cum elegantissimâ versione Gallicâ conferre, quæ proculdubio Latinæ nonnunquam lucem fœnerabitur: & quando integrum tractatum perlegero candidè tibi judicium meum scribam, non quia

neceſſe eſt, ſed quia id à me exigis, idque ego tibi petenti me debere agnoſco. Verùm quantum ex Gallicæ verſionis lectione percepi, me ſententiæ tuæ approbatorem habebis: ſi vero ad quædam hæſitavero, ea tibi candidè indicabo, ut pleniorem eorum explicationem ex te eliciam. Deum precor ut tibi vitam ac vires continuet, ut egregiis tuis laboribus orbi literato porro prodeſſe poſſis. Salutant te uxor ac filia. Salutem à nobis officioſiſſimam dices Dominæ Maſham totique familiæ. Vale.

Amſtelod. 19 *Julii*, 1701.

Tui amantiſſimus,

P. à LIMBORCH.

PHILIPPO *à* LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE *S.P.D.*

Vir ampliſſime,

QUòd omnis obſcuritas & ambiguitas in verborum uſu ſit vitanda tecum planè ſentio: verùm liceat mihi adjicere, quòd hoc ſæpe non ſit etiam à volentibus evitare obſcuritatem. Ideæ, quæ obverſantur hominum mentibus, præſertim eorum qui veritatem attentiùs quærunt, multò plures

ſunt

ſunt quam voces cujuſvis linguæ, quæ ad eas exprimendas paratæ ſunt. Hinc fit quòd homines (quibus integrum non eſt nova vocabula quoties opus eſt ad novas ideas ſignificandas ad libitum procudere) eâdem voce pro diverſis ideis, præſertim ſi cognatæ ſint, identidem utuntur: unde oritur non raro ſermonis obſcuritas & incertus ſenſus, quando ad præciſiones accuratas veniendum eſt, quo non ſolum audientium ſed & ipſorum etiam loquentium mentes implicantur. Inter alia quæ propoſui lib. iii. cap. xi. huic malo remedia, illud mihi præcipuum videtur, ſc. ut diligenter colligamus omnes ſimplices ideas quæ ingrediuntur compoſitionem cujuſlibet ideæ complexæ cujus nomen uſurpamus, eaſque eidem voci affixas ſedulò in animo teneamus. *V. g.* in argumento quod præ manibus habemus, ſi *voluntas* ſignificat potentiam quam homo habet incipiendi, ſiſtendi vel vitandi aliquam actionem mentis vel corporis ſui, ut ego fuſiùs explicui lib. ii. cap. xxi. §. 5, &c. in quo tu etiam acquieſcere videris: ſi hæc, inquam, ſit idea quam vox *voluntas* ſignificat, eamque præſentem in animo habemus quando de voluntate loquamur, nihil certius eſſe poteſt, quam quod voluntas terminatur ſolummodo in actionibus noſtris, nec poteſt ulterius extendi ad rem aliquam aliam, nec ferri in bonum remotum & abſens. Adeoque ſi

conten-

contendis voluntatem ferri in bonum ut finem, recedis ab ea idea quam huic voci assignavimus, aliamque substituis; unde fit quòd tu & ego diversas res designamus quando de voluntate loquimur, nec omnino possumus inter nos de voluntate differentes quicquam proficere, donec tu ideam indices cujus apud te vox *voluntas* signum est, ut de sensu vocis, i. e. de re de qua differimus conveniamus.

Distinctio de *desiderio completo & incompleto*, sive de *voluntate completa & incompleta* quam affers, nihil mihi videtur argumentum tuum juvare. Sive enim aliquod sit *incompletum desiderium*, vel *incompleta voluntas*, quod sane dubito, id nunquam efficiet ut sit verum, quod voluntas fertur in bonum. Dico me dubitare an aliqua potest esse *incompleta volitio*; *voluntas* enim hîc, ni fallor, sumitur pro actu voluntatis, i. e. pro volitione. Volitionem inefficacem facile agnosco, ut cùm paralyticus manum paralysi solutam movere velit, inefficax fateor & sine successu est ista volitio, sed non *incompleta*. Actus enim volendi hoc in casu æque completus est, ac olim quando manus volitioni obsequebatur. Itidem desiderium alicujus propositi boni, quod propter majus bonum incompatibile prosequi negligimus, non est *incompletum desiderium*, nec *incompleta voluntas*, sed desiderium completum brevi terminatum

natum, eouſque non procedens ut nos impellat ad volendum actiones quibus obtineri poſſit illud bonum in quod ferebatur breve illud deſiderium: nec *incompleta* dici poteſt *voluntas* ubi nulla omnino eſt volitio, etiamſi ſcholæ *velleïtatem* appellare ament. Quòd ſi breve illud deſiderium eouſque procedat, ut nos ad volendum aliquam actionem excitet, *voluntas* illa non eſt *incompleta*, ſed completus actus volendi, etiamſi omiſſa ulteriore inefficax ſit ad obtinendum bonum propoſitum quod ceſſante deſiderio negligitur. In his & hujuſmodi mentis actionibus adeo celeres ſunt motus animi, & inter ſe conjuncti, ut non mirum ſit, quòd ſæpe, uti fit, confundantur, quæ attentius çonſideranti diſtinguenda ſunt, ut rectè conceptus noſtros formemus. Vis libere dicam quid hac de re ſentio. Homo fertur in bonum abſens ſive finem. Multis ſimul intellectui obverſantibus bonis non ſubordinatis nec conſiſtentibus, homo unum, neglectis aliis, ſibi proponit ut finem, i. e. ut proſequendum, hoc facit voluntariè, adeoque voluntas fertur in illam actionem mentis, qua unum præ reliquis ſibi proponit ut finem, & in ea actione terminatur, eodem modo quo terminatur in computatione quando vult numerare, vel in motione pedum quando vult ambulare. Ob hanc voluntariam propoſitionem iſtius boni, ut finis, fateor non

rarò

rarò dicitur vulgo quòd voluntas fertur in eum finem vel in id bonum, an propriè & ut philosophicam decet ἀκρίβειαν tu judices.

Quanta sit vis consuetudinis in usu verborum, quæ irrepit subinde nobis insciis patet ut mihi videtur in iis quæ in epistola tua sequuntur. In priore epistola libens & apertè mecum consentire videris, quòd actiones sunt agentium sive substantiarum, & non potentiarum sive facultatum: & tamen hîc usitatâ loquendi formâ te abduci pateris, dicisque quòd *voluntas est actionum nostrarum domina easque pro arbitrio moderatur*, & similia passim in toto illo epistolæ tuæ paragrapho; quod ni fecisses nulla arbitror mihi tecum lis esset. Hoc non dico quòd adeo delicatulus sim, ut hujusmodi loquendi formulas nullo in loco pati possim: earum usus in sermone familiari, si rectè intelligantur non omnino vituperandus. Quando verò in disceptationibus philosophicis pro fundamentis argumentorum, quasi iis inniteretur rerum veritas, omnino rejiciendæ sunt metaphoricæ & tralaticiæ hujusmodi locutiones, ne nos in errorem inducant: resque ipsæ, uti revera sunt, propriis & non figuratis vocabulis exprimendæ: v.g. dicere *quòd voluntas sit actionum nostrarum domina easque pro arbitrio moderatur*, & indè arguere quòd *nisi voluntas sit libera nulla erit in homine libertas*, est, ut mihi videtur, ex vi metaphoræ illius

illius nos in errorem conjicere. *Libertas* apud me *est potestas hominis agendi vel non agendi secundum suam voluntatem*; scilicet si homo potest agere hoc, si vult agere hoc; & abstinere è contra ab agendo hoc, quando vult abstinere ab agendo hoc, eò in casu liber est homo. Hanc esse veram libertatis notionem videtur mihi constare ex iis quæ à me dicta sunt §. 8. & seqq. Quæ si vera sit inde omnino sequitur libertatem nullo modo competere voluntati, uti monstravi §. 14. Imo indè sequitur quòd illa *antecedens indifferentia ante decretum voluntatis*, nullo modo ut dixi pertinet ad quæstionem de libertate. Si enim libertas sit potentia agendi actionem quam vult homo, & vicissim abstinendi ab eadem actione si ab ea homo vult abstinere, quid facit, rogo, ista antecedens indifferentia ad libertatem quæ est potentia agendi vel non agendi consequenter ad voluntatis determinationem.

Quandoquidem verò inciderit quæstio de ista vestra *antecedente indifferentia* cui vos omnem inniti libertatem contenditis, de ea liceat mihi paulo distinctiùs inquirere. Hæc *indifferentia* definitur a te *vis animi qua positis omnibus ad agendum requisitis potest agere vel non agere*. Jam hîc rogo an intellectus judicium vel cogitatio sit unum ex requisitis ad agendum?

1. Si

1. Si dicas quòd intellectus judicium vel cogitatio sit unum ex *requisitis ad agendum*, vestra *antecedens indifferentia* nunquam efficiet ut voluntas sit libera (quamvis eum in finem, ut inde adstrui possit voluntatis libertas, excogitata & introducta videtur) quia, ut dixi, aliquâ actione semel intellectui propositâ, voluntas non est in statu in quo potest agere vel non agere (in quo, ut mihi videtur, consistit libertas) necessariò debet agere; nec potest abstinere ab agendo, i. e. a volendo, actionem illam scilicet, vel illius omissionem. Imo verò voluntas eo in statu non est indifferens ad alterutram partem oppositorum, nempe ad actionem propositam, vel ejus omissionem, quia determinatur à præcedente intellectus judicio, actionem illam vel ejus omissionem præferente.

2. Si dicas quòd intellectus judicium sive cogitatio, non sit unum ex *requisitis ad agendum*. Videas quæso, dum hominem hoc modo liberum reddere velis an non agentem cæcum planè efficis? & ut liberum facias ab eo intellectum removes, sine quo nec esse nec supponi potest libertas ulla. Ad res enim cogitatione & intellectu destitutas nulla omnino attinet libertas. Perpende igitur quæso & tecum cogita an libertas hominis recte fundari potest in ejusmodi statu qui excludit cogitationem, redditque lapidem æque capacem libertatis? An illa indifferentia pertinere

nere poteſt ad quæſtionem de libertate, quæ ſepoſitâ cogitatione nullum locum in ſubjecto relinquit libertati?

Hæc omnia ita ſe habent ex mea libertatis notione, quàm fuſiùs traditam invenies §. 8-13. Quòd ſi tu aliam iſti voci ſenſum tribuas, forſan hæ omnes evaneſcent difficultates. Sed tunc rogandus es ut tuam libertatis definitionem ad me mittas ſi de diverſis rebus ſub eodem nomine diſſerentes nolumus ſine fructu diſputare.

Ex his quæ ſupra dixi mihi conſtare videtur quòd libertas nullatenus conſiſtit in indifferentia hominis, ſed ſolummodo in potentia agendi vel non agendi prout volumus. Exemplo forſan res clarior erit. Homo v. g. amat vinum, judicat ſibi bonum eſſe, ex voluntate ſua bibit: nulla hîc indifferentia eſt, & tamen libera prorſus eſt hæc actio, quia ſi modo mutaverit voluntatem poteſt abſtinere. Contra homo vinum nec amat nec averſatur, nec judicat ſibi bonum aut malum eſſe, ſupponamus quantamlibet hominis indifferentiam: ex voluntate abſtinet à vino in carcere ubi vinum non permittitur. Hæc actio, nempe abſtinentia à potione vini eſt voluntaria fateor, ſed non eſt libera: quoniam homo ille ſi mutet voluntatem, vinum tamen in eo caſu bibere non poteſt. Vides igitur quod indifferentia poteſt eſſe ſine libertate, & libertas ſine indifferentia,

 & actio

& actio voluntaria ſine utraque. Hæc me res ipſæ per ſe planæ docere videntur. Imo vero res ipſæ melius forſan & ſimplicius nos docerent multa, ſi ſcholarum ſubtilitas in procudendis facultatibus, diſtinctionibus, aliiſque ſpecioſis inventis mirè acuta, non obduceret ſæpe rebus in ſe claris operoſam & doctam obſcuritatem.

Dicis porro quòd *Libertas conſiſtit in potentia qua homo actionem volendi poteſt determinare vel non determinare.* Si per *actionem volendi determinare vel non determinare* ſignificas velle aut non velle; libertas in eo conſiſtere non poteſt: quia aliquâ actione homini propoſitâ, homo non poteſt abſtinere à volitione, debet neceſſariò velle aut actionem illam propoſitam, aut abſtinentiam ab iſta actione, quantumvis levis & inſtantanea præcedat mentis cogitatio ſemper & neceſſariò ſequitur actus volendi, quo actio propoſita vel eligitur vel negligitur: & ita voluntas præcedente cogitatione ſemper determinatur ad agendum, i. e. ad volendum ſcil. exiſtentiam vel non exiſtentiam actionis propoſitæ. Quòd ſi per *potentiam qua homo actionem volendi poteſt determinare vel non determinare*, ſignificas potentiam quicquid temerè volendi, vel ſine præviâ cogitatione, vel contra intellectus judicium, uti ſequentia verba videntur innuere, ubi dicis, *niſi determinatio voluntatis ſit libera*, & loqueris

queris de *bruto impetu*: libertas in hujusmodi potentia non potest consistere. Quia ut dixi libertas supponit cogitationem. Ubi enim nulla est cogitatio nulla esse potest libertas, uti fusiùs explicui §. 8, & 9. Porro libertas non potest consistere in potentia determinandi actionem volendi contra judicium intellectus, quia homo non habet hujusmodi potentiam. Actio enim volendi hoc aut illud semper sequitur judicium intellectus, quo homo judicat pro hic & nunc hoc esse melius. Ex quo facile est intelligere, quid velim, cùm dico, ante ultimum judicium intellectus homo non potest omnino se determinare: hocque facile conciliare possis, cum iis quæ citas ex §. 47. de suspensione impletionis cujuscunque desiderii, si modo memineris quòd ante unamquamque volitionem præcedit semper judicium aliquod intellectus de re agenda; judiciumque illud quod immediate præcedit volitionem sive actum volendi est eo in casu ultimum judicium intellectus. Quod te in diversum abripuit mihi videtur hoc esse, nempe quòd ultimum judicium intellectus videris confundere cum maturo & recto judicio, si rectè capio sensum istius sententiæ ubi hæc verba lego: *Intellectus post accuratum rationum examen judicaverit quid facere oporteat*, &c. Sed id non est ultimum judi-

cium de quo ego loquor. Loquor ego de eo judicio quod in omni volitione immediate præcedit volitionem, quòd revera eſt ultimum judicium ſive bene expenſum ſit & matura deliberatione recoctum, ſive extemporaneum & ſubito impetu enatum, & æque voluntatem determinat, ſive ſit ſive non ſit rationi conſentaneum.

Si meum ſenſum in his ſatis rectè & clarè expoſui, non apparebit tibi credo hæc relegenti tanta inter nos opinionum diſtantia, quantum credidiſti: pro certo habeo nos veritatem utrinque ſincere quærentes non poſſe diu de rebus ipſis diſſentire, quanquam loquendi formulæ videantur nonnunquam in diverſum abire. Sed de rebus ipſis cogitantibus facile erit phraſiologiæ nebulas diſcutere, ex quibus ferè oriuntur inter veritatis amatores omnes controverſiæ.

En prolixiore epiſtola tibi explicationem ſententiæ meæ poſcenti, ut potui, morem geſſi. Ignoſcas, rogo, quòd toties citaverim librum meum; hoc feci brevitatis cauſa, ne hîc in epiſtola ea reſcriberem quæ in libro impreſſo meliùs legeres.

De duabus verſionibus monere te convenit, ut ſicubi inter ſe diſſentientes reperias de ſenſu meo ex Gallicâ dijudices. Illam enim mihi auctor totam perlegit, & ubi à ſenſu meo aberrare deprehendi correxit.

Lati-

Latinam nondum mihi legere contigit. Valetudo & negotia non ſatis otii conceſſerunt. Vale, & ut facis me ama

Oates, 12 *Auguſt*, 1701. *Tui amantiſſimum*,

J. LOCKE.

Poſtquam quæ ſupra habentur ſcripſeram, mihi venit in mentem non incommodum fore ſi aliquid libro meo inſererem, ad elucidandam *indifferentiæ* naturam in qua conſiſtit libertas in gratiam eorum qui *indifferentiam* hoc in argumento tanti faciunt ut illâ ablatâ vel omiſſâ nihil rectè vel clarè ſtatui de libertate poſſe exiſtimant. En igitur quæ §. 71. ſubjungenda cenſui. Ego Anglicè ſcripſi: Gallicè vertit D. Coſte, adeoque ſi probas Gallicæ verſioni libri mei inſerere poſſis.

Liv. II. Chap. XXI. §. 71. après ces mots, *par ſon propre jugement*, ajoutez ce qui ſuit.

Je ſai que certaines gens font conſiſter la Liberté dans une certaine indifference *de l'homme, antecedente à la détermination de ſa* volonté. *Je ſouhaiterois que ceux qui font tant de fonds ſur cette* indifference an-

tecedente, *comme ils parlent, nous eussent dit nettement si cette indifference qu'ils supposent, précede la pensée & le jugement de l'entendement aussi bien que le decret de la volonté; car il est bien mal-aisé de la placer entre ces deux termes, je veux dire immediatement après le jugement de l'entendement, & devant la détermination de la volonté, parce que la détermination de la volonté suit immediatement le jugement de l'entendement : & d'ailleurs, placer la liberté dans une indifference qui précede la pensée & le jugement de l'entendemement, c'est, ce me semble, faire consister la liberté dans un état de ténebres où nous ne pouvons ni voir ni dire ce que c'est : c'est du moins la placer dans un sujet incapable de liberté, nul agent n'étant jugé capable de liberté qu'en consequence de la pensée, & du jugement qu'on reconnoit en luy. Comme je ne suis pas délicat en matiere d'expressions, je consens à dire avec ceux qui aiment à parler ainsi, que la liberté est placée dans l'Indifference; mais c'est dans une sorte d'indifference qui reste aprés le jugement de l'entendement, & même après la détermination de la volonté : ce qui n'est pas une indifference de l'homme (car après que l'homme a une fois jugé ce qu'il est meilleur de faire ou de ne pas faire, il n'est plus indifferent) mais une indifference des puissances actives ou operatives de l'homme, lesquelles demeurant*

tout

tout autant capables d'agir ou de ne pas agir, après qu'avant le decret de la volonté, sont dans un état qu'on peut appeller, si l'on veut, indifference : & aussi loin que s'étend cette indifference, jusques-là l'homme est libre, & pas au delà. Par exemple, j'ay la puissance de mouvoir ma main, ou de la laisser en repos ; cette faculté operative est indifferente au mouvement & au repos de ma main ; je suis donc libre à cet egard. Ma volonté vient à déterminer cette puissance operative au repos, je suis encore libre, parce que l'indifference de cette puissance operative qui est en moy, d'agir ou de ne pas agir, reste encore ; la puissance de mouvoir ma main n'étant nullement diminuée par la détermination de ma volonté, qui à present ordonne le repos ; l'indifference de cette puissance à agir ou ne pas agir, est justement telle qu'elle étoit auparavant, comme il paroit si la volonté veut en faire l'epreuve en ordonnant le contraire. Mais si pendant que ma main est en repos, elle vient à être saisie d'une soudaine paralysie, l'indifference de cette puissance operative est détruite, & ma liberté avec elle : je n'ay plus de liberté à cet égard, mais je suis dans la nécessité de laisser ma main en repos. D'un autre côté si ma main est mise en mouvement par une convulsion, l'indifference de cette faculté operative s'évanouit ; & en cas-là ma liberté est detruite ; car je me trouve dans la

nécessité de laisser mouvoir ma main. J'ai ajoûté ceci pour faire voir dans quelle sorte d'indifference il me paroit que la liberté consiste précisement, & qu'elle ne peut consister dans aucune autre, réelle ou imaginaire.

JOANNI LOCKE
PHILIPPUS *à* LIMBORCH *S.P.D.*

Amplissime vir,

QUòd tantum meâ causâ laborem susceperis, ut prolixiori epistola, sententiam tuam mihi distinctiùs explicare non fueris gravatus, maximas tibi habeo gratias; legi, relegi, expendi epistolam tuam magna cum attentione. Quanto exactiùs eam expendo, tanto magis observare videor, nos tam sententiis, quam phrasibus ac loquendi modis discrepare, & quandoque diversas ideas iisdem, nonnunquam easdem ideas diversis vocibus designare. Respondissem citiùs, verùm consulto responsum distuli, donec integrum tuum tractatum perlegissem. Eo jam perlecto, & cum epistola tua collato, magis magisque observare videor, omnem qui inter nos apparet dissensum, non tam circa rem ipsam quam circa voces, ac diversam ejusdem rei explicandæ rationem

occu-

occupari. Quia verò non ubique phrasium mearum sensum rectè percepisse videris, & ut, quicquid fortasse adhuc inter nos restat dissensus, paucis & in compendio comprehendi possit, *primo* sensum vocum ac phrasium quibus usus sum quanta possum perspicuitate explicabo: *deinde* phrasibus claris & ambiguitati non obnoxiis sententiam meam, quantâ possum brevitate exponam. Tandem inquiram in quibus consentiamus, & quis adhuc remaneat dissensus; utrumne ille in re ipsa, an verò in vocibus ac phrasibus, & diversâ rem quam inquirimus explicandi ratione consistat. Ita puto, si fortasse nondum per omnia idem sentiamus, brevi omnem dissensum sublatum iri, nec veritatem sincere eam quærentibus diu absconditam fore.

Significationem voluntatis, quòd sit *potentia quam homo habet incipiendi, sistendi, vel vitandi aliquam actionem mentis vel corporis*, ego tecum agnosco, & ab ea non recedam: à voluntate etiam distinguo desiderium quo ferimur in bonum absens, neque id unquam sub notione voluntatis comprehendam. Agnosco hîc me minus exactè loquutum, & desiderium à voluntate esse distinguendum. Quod dixi, voluntatem etiam ferri in finem, nihil aliud volui, nisi quòd tu ipse in epistola tua dicis; *Multis simul intellectui obversantibus bonis non subordinatis*

nec

nec consistentibus, hominem unum neglectis aliis, sibi proponere ut finem, & ut prosequendum : hoc facit voluntariè. Hæc ergo electio est actio voluntatis: quando hanc sibi electionem fecit homo, desiderio suo fertur in bonum illud, quod sibi elegit; & voluntate sua dirigit actiones suas, quibus se bonum desideratum consecuturum credit.

Vox *libertas* mihi designat dominium quod homo habet in actionem suam; quo nempe positis omnibus ad agendum requisitis potest agere & non agere: qui non est actionis suæ dominus, seu agere non potest quod vult, non est liber. Verùm ego puto hoc ad omnes hominis actiones, sine ulla exceptione, extendi, tam ad internas actiones mentis, quam externas corporis, adeo ut etiam actio volendi, quæ est interna mentis actio, sit libera. Quando autem dixi voluntatem esse actionum nostrarum dominam, nihil aliud volui, nisi, actiones nostras externas dirigi à volitione nostrâ, adeo ut faciamus quæ volumus, & non faciamus quæ nolumus, nisi intercedat cohibitio, aut coactio: utraque enim illa libertatem destruit. Semel declaravi, credere me animam seu mentem immediate, absque ullis intermediis facultatibus, intelligere & velle: per intellectum itaque & voluntatem, quotiescunque iis vocibus utor, aliud non intelligo, nisi potentiam seu facultatem ipsius

animæ

animæ qua elicit actionem intelligendi ac volendi, & quam actionem anima immediatè exercet. Et hanc significationem te etiam admittere puto.

Supereſt ut dicam de *indifferentia*. De qua primò præmoneo, eam non eſſe noſtram, uti tu credis, id eſt, a nobis inventam, aut ita à nobis adſcitam, ut pro ea tanquam neceſſariò in hac quæſtione uſurpanda contendamus. Nihil minus. Nos diu illa voce uſi non fuimus: libertatem definientes, eam ordinariè vocavimus, dominium quod homo in actionem ſuam habet. In diſputatione autem contra illos theologos, qui intellectum ac voluntatem ſtatuunt duas eſſe facultates realiter & ab anima & a ſe invicem diſtinctas, quarum una tantum intelligit, nihil autem vult, altera tantum vult, nihil autem intelligit, hanc illorum ſententiam hoc argumento oppugnavimus: quòd per eam aut omnis libertas tollatur, aut omnis actio hominis reddatur bruta ac irrationalis. Aut enim voluntas determinatur ab intellectu, adeo ut neceſſariò velit, quod intellectus illi præſcribit: atqui tum omnis actio neceſſaria eſt, quia omnis actio intellectus eſt neceſſaria. Aut non determinatur ab intellectu, ſed ſeipſam determinat: atqui tum omnis actio voluntatis eſt bruta & irrationalis, quia ſupponitur voluntatem nihil intelligere, ſed ſolummodo velle. Hujus argumenti

gumenti ictum ut evitent, respondérunt, radicem libertatis esse in intellectu; quia in intellectu est indifferentia, qua potest quodcunque objectum quod sibi offertur apprehendere & dijudicare. Responderunt nostri, eam esse tantum indifferentiam passivam, qualis est in oculo, qui etiam quævis objecta sibi occurrentia potest videre, eorumque imagines recipere; quem tamen nemo propterea dixerit libere videre; quia non potest, quin quod sibi videndum proponitur videat: sicut non potest intellectus quin quod sibi clarè proponitur comprehendat; aut dubitet de eo, pro quo utrinque æque graves militant rationes. Si verò libertas quæratur in indifferentia, oportere eam esse activam, quâ homo dominium habet in suam actionem. Exindè, quoniam alii vocem *indifferentiæ* adhibuerunt, nos, ut omnem in disputando ambiguitatem vitaremus, distinctionis causâ addidimus vocem *activæ*, diximusque libertatem consistere in indifferentia activa, eamque residere in voluntate. Vides ergo, nos non pro hac voce velle decertare, nec eam a nobis esse excogitatam: sed nos vocem ab aliis usurpatam explicuisse, & additione vocis *activæ* significationem illius explanatiorem reddidisse. Interim non nego, nos postea quandoque etiam illâ in scriptis nostris esse usos, quia juxta explicationem nostram accepta commodissima visa fuit,

fuit, & idem significare cum phrasi antea à nobis usurpatâ, dominium in actiones nostras. Idque etiam constat ex definitione hujus indifferentiæ, quam in præcedente meâ epistolâ dedi; quòd sit vis illa animi, quâ positis omnibus ad agendum requisitis potest agere vel non agere: quòd mihi aliud nihil est, quam quod homo dominium habet in actionem suam, ut possit prout ipsi placuerit, vel agere vel non agere. Itaque inter omnia ad agendum requisita vel maxime colloco intellectus judicium, quod præcedere debet; aliàs volendi actio merè esset irrationalis. Quando autem dico quod *possit agere & non agere*, mens mea non est, quod simul possit agere & non agere; aut nec agere nec non agere, seu nec velle nec non velle: hoc enim contradictorium est; sed quod potentia ad neutrum sit determinata, ac proinde ex duobus oppositis possit eligere quodcunque ipsi libitum fuerit; imo ubi jam se determinavit ad agendum, quod actionem suam sistere possit, & se rursus in partem oppositam determinare. Hoc est, quòd dominium habet in suam actionem. Ubi hoc non potest non est liber. Sic rectè mones, eum, qui volens in carcere à vino abstinet, non liberè abstinere, quia non habet facultatem vinum bibendi: nec qui volens in carcere manet, libere manere, quia non habet facultatem exeundi. Sed

vero alia eſt ratio actionum internarum quæ ſola mente perficiuntur. Ad illarum libertatem nihil requiritur niſi libera determinatio voluntatis. Sic qui in carcere concupiſcit alterius uxorem, eaque turpi concupiſcentia ſe oblectat, eamque in animo fovet, liberè concupiſcit & peccat, licet ea concupiſcentia intra ſolam delectationem moroſam, uti ſcholaſtici loquuntur, conſiſtat; ideoque ad ejus conſummationem ipſe externus adulterii actus non requiritur. Per *brutum impetum* non intelligo actionem voluntatis ſine ulla præcedente cogitatione; ſic enim conciperem non hominem; ſed præcipitatam actionem, ante debitum & accuratum illius examen: ſicuti videmus multos homines vehementi affectu ſæpe abripi, ut hoc aut illud agere velint, antequam omnes actionis circumſtantias, rationeſque ac argumenta quibus ad eam incitari aut ab ea deterreri poſſint, rite conſideraverint. Hanc ergo tribuo libertatem homini, ut, quando actio ipſi propoſita eſt, poſſit vel præcipitare judicium, vel maturè omnes actionis circumſtantias examinare, atque ita vel bruto impetu, vel prævio maturo ac deliberato conſilio agere: ejuſque libertatis unumquemque ſibi eſſe conſcium credo. Nec hoc omittendum per *indifferentiam*, me non intelligere ſtatum, in quo homo quaſi in æquilibrio eſt conſtitutus, nec in unam partem magis propendet,

quam

quam in alteram ; talis enim ſtatus indifferentiæ circa actiones morales in nullo homine reperitur : ſemper in unam partem magis propendemus, quam in aliam in actionibus præſertim moralibus, prout vel affectibus agimur, aut conſuetudo ac habitus nos erga virtutem, aut vitia proniores reddidit : ſed ſtatum in quo homo potentiam habet ſe determinandi in quamcunque oppoſitorum partem velit : licet enim magis ſit propenſus in unam partem, quam in alteram, non tamen dominium in actionem ſuam amiſit, ſed in alteram partem etiam ſe determinare poteſt. Verùm quia vox *indifferentiæ* accipi poteſt pro ſtatu, quo homo in neutram partem inclinat, ſed plane in æquilibrio eſt conſtitutus, licet ille ſenſus directæ explicationi noſtræ adverſetur, ad omnem vitandam amphibologiam, a voce illa abſtinebo.

Ultimum intellectus judicium ego non confundo cum maturo & recto judicio ; ſed ibi diſtinguo ultimum judicium, quod ſit vel maturum & rectum, vel pravum & præcipitatum,quod ibi vocavi brutum impetum, quia illud magis ſequitur vehementem concupiſcentiam carnalem, quam ductum rationis : utrumque eſt ultimum judicium, quando immediate actionem volendi antecedit, & inter illud actionemque volendi nullum aliud judicium intermedium eſt.

Ita explicatis terminis quibus usus sum, jam quanta possum brevitate & perspicuitate sententiam meam proponam. Eam his Thesibus comprehendo.

1. Homo est agens liberum, & habet dominium in actiones suas, illas vel faciendi, vel omittendi.

2. Intellectus & voluntas non sunt duæ facultates realiter ab anima hominis & a se invicem dictinctæ; sed anima per suam essentiam immediate intelligit & vult.

3. Homo nihil vult aut facit, nisi desiderio boni, aut sensu molestiæ ex absentia boni desiderati excitatus.

4. Actum volendi antecedit actus intelligendi, quo homo judicium fert de actione suâ.

5. Judicium illud vel est prudens post adhibitum maturum rationum ab utraque parte militantium examen: vel est præcipitatum, & ab affectu magis quam ratione dictatum.

6. Judicium hoc, quatenus est merus intelligendi actus, non procedit ultra suasionem, hoc est eligibile, seu, hoc consentaneum est eligere, hoc consentaneum est rejicere: aut, inter eligibilia hoc magis hoc minus est eligibile; inter fugienda, hoc magis hoc minus oportet fugere.

7. Judi-

7. Judicium quo homo decernit hoc eſt faciendum, eſt ipſa volitio; vel ad minimum, actus mixtus ex intellectione & volitione, & ad cujus conſummationem actus volendi concurrit.

8. Actus intelligendi, quatenus eſt merus intelligendi actus, eſt neceſſarius, & nititur momento rationum ab homine perceptarum.

9. Actus volendi liber eſt, habetque homo dominium in illum, ac facultatem eum vel eliciendi vel non eliciendi. Si quæ ergo libertas in judicio eſt, ea procedit non ab actu intelligendi, ſed volendi.

10. Actionum internarum, quæ ſola mente perficiuntur, libertas conſiſtit in liberâ mentis determinatione, quâ actionem volendi vel elicere poteſt, vel cohibere. Ad libertatem verò actionum externarum, ad quarum conſummationem concurrere debent membra externa, etiam requiritur ut homo habeat facultatem ſive potentiam faciendi quod vult, & omittendi, ſeu non faciendi, quod non vult: ſive liberum & non impeditum membrorum externorum uſum.

Ita paucis explicatâ ſententiâ meâ, videamus nunc in quibus conveniamus, & quis inter nos ſuperſit diſſenſus. Quando epiſtolam tuam confero cum lib. ii. cap. xxi. *de potentia*, videor mihi poſſe dicere, nos in quinque primis theſibus conſentire, nec de iis inter nos ullum eſſe diſſenſum. De

 ulti-

ultimâ etiam nulla eſt inter nos controverſia, niſi forte quòd tu libertatem in ſola potentia faciendi quod volumus, & non faciendi quod nolumus collocare videris, cùm ego eam etiam ad ipſius voluntatis determinationem, ſeu volitionis actum extendam. De quo mox. Utroque etiam pollice amplector, quod in epiſtola tua ſcribis; quòd homo fertur in bonum abſens, ſive finem; & quòd multis ſimul intellectui obverſantibus bonis non ſubordinatis nec conſiſtentibus, homo unum neglectis aliis ſibi proponit ut finem, id eſt, ut proſequendum: & hoc facit voluntariè: ideoque voluntas fertur in illam actionem mentis quâ unum præ reliquis ſibi proponit ut finem; & in ea actione terminatur: eam autem voluntatis actionem ſequitur deſiderium finis. Hactenus ergo conſentimus. Videamus quouſque in reliquis conſentiamus, & quis ſuperſit diſſenſus.

Primo non videmur convenire in definitione libertatis. Sic enim dicis: *libertas apud me eſt poteſtas hominis agendi vel non agendi ſecundum ſuam voluntatem.* Quæ definitio mihi anguſta nimis eſſe videtur: & ſi ea agnoſcatur, tum certum eſt, libertatem nullo modo competere voluntati: ſicut certum eſt, animam nunquam poſſe eſſe ſine cogitatione, ſi vera ſit definitio, anima eſt cogitatio. Imo ſi hæc genuina ſit definitio libertatis, fieri poſſet ut libertas conſiſteret cum ſummâ neceſ-

necessitate. Ut mox ostendam. Ego autem puto libertatem esse dominium quod homo habet in quamcunque suam actionem, eamque extendi non tantum ad actiones, quas facit secundum suam voluntatem, sed & ad ipsum volendi actum, seu volitionem.

Quod sextam & septimam thesin attinet, nescio quousque in illis consentiamus, aut quis de illis inter nos sit dissensus. In postrema mea epistola idem jam affirmavi: verùm tu nullam in tua epistola illius mentionem facis: itaque incertus sum quousque hîc mecum sentias. Mihi evidens videtur, hominem judicium suum determinare, quia vult acquiescere rationibus quas expendit: suspendere autem judicium suum, quia nondum vult acquiescere, sed rationes aut exactiùs expendere; aut an sint plures, quibus judicium ejus inclinare possit, inquirere. Atque ita determinationem ultimi judicii, quo homo decernit, hoc est eligendum aut faciendum, si non totam, maximam saltem partem, esse actionem volendi.

Octava Thesis, qua statuo, omnem actum intellectus, quatenus merus intelligendi actus est, esse necessarium, nescio an inter nos controversa sit. Illam enim expressè asserere videris lib. iv. cap. xiii. §. 2. & cap. xx. §. 16. At ea distinctiùs paulum explicanda est, ut pateat, an aliquis de ea sit dissensus. Hîc ergo observo, quòd res quas intellectus per-

 cipit,

cipit, ſunt vel merè theoreticæ, vel practicæ. Circa veritates theoreticas actio intellectus neceſſaria prorſus eſt: propoſita veritate clara & evidenti, intellectus neceſſariò aſſentitur, ſeu homo neceſſariò eam percipit, illique aſſenſum præbet: propoſitis argumentis veriſimilibus tantum, homo neceſſariò opinatur: propoſitis utrinque argumentis æqualis ponderis, homo, ſeu intellectus, neceſſariò dubitat: omneſque hæ intelligendi actiones nituntur momento rationum ab homine perceptarum. Circa veritates practicas actio intelligendi, quatenus mera intelligendi actio eſt, & nulla intercedit actio volendi, etiam neceſſaria eſt: pro rationum enim momento quas intellectus expendit, judicat quid convenientius, quid minus conveniens, quid ex uſu ſit facere vel non facere. Hoc judicium ducit quidem voluntatem, verùm eam non plenè determinat: eſt enim illud imperium tantum ſuaſionis, cui voluntas poteſt non obtemperare, ſeu, homo poteſt aliud velle; determinatio autem procedit à voluntate, qua homo decernit hoc eſt faciendum, eaque determinatio fit vel juxta ſuaſionem intellectus; & tunc eſt rationalis; vel fieri poteſt contra eam; & tunc eſt irrationalis, hoc eſt, procedit ab affectu carnali, & ſuaſioni intellectus neutiquam auſcultat: vel etiam poteſt eſſe præceps & temeraria, ita ut maturum judicium ante-

antevertat. Hîc videmur diſſentire: Dicis enim *hominem non habere potentiam determinandi actionem volendi contra judicium intellectus: actio enim volendi hoc aut illud, ſemper ſequitur judicium intellectus, quo homo judicat pro hic & nunc hoc eſſe melius.* Idem etiam videris affirmare in fine §. 71. dicti capitis. Sed tamen quando hæc confero cum definitione voluntatis in tua epiſtola, quod ſit *potentia quam homo habet incipiendi, ſiſtendi, vel vitandi aliquam actionem mentis vel corporis*, & cum §. 47. cap. xxi. & aliquot anteced. & ſeqq. dubito an multum diſſentiamus, & an non magis diverſitas ſit in modo explicandi, quam in re ipſa. Omnino enim mihi videris illic agnoſcere, libertatem quandam in judicando. Dicis enim illic, *liberum eſſe menti appetitionum ſuarum objecta conſiderare, eas introſpicere penitùs, & utrum præponderet trutinâ diligenter examinare. In hoc libertas hominis conſiſtit:* & quæ ibi porro egregia habes. Addis mox: *indultam nobis poteſtatem voluntatem revocandi à proſecutione hujus aut illius appetitionis. Hîc mihi videtur fons eſſe omnis libertatis*, &c. Ex iis enim liquere videtur, libertatem etiam verſari in judicio formando, imo ibi eſſe libertatis fontem. Unde colligo libertatem (juxta tuam explicationem) non ſolummodo conſiſtere in potentia faciendi quod volumus: ſed etiam ante

volitionis actum, imo ante judicium de actione sua, hominem esse liberum & libertatem suam exercere. Solummodo discrimen inter nos esset, an judicium ultimum quo decernitur, non, hoc convenit facere, sed, hoc est faciendum, sit actio intelligendi mera; an verò ad id etiam concurrat actio volendi? &, an libertas resideat in actione intelligendi, an volendi? sive, an id quod in judicio, quo hominis actio determinatur, liberum est, resideat in intellectione an volitione? Si in eo consistat discrimen, puto facile sententias nostras conciliari posse: quamvis enim mihi perspicuum videatur, libertatem residere in actione volendi, nihilque esse liberum, quin sit etiam voluntarium; non tamen hic tantopere videmur posse dissentire, quin facile ad consensum reducamur. Cùm enim uterque statuamus, intellectum & voluntatem non esse duas potentias realiter ab anima & a se invicem distinctas; sed hominem, seu animam, immediate per suam essentiam intelligere ac velle, satis convenimus, quando uterque agnoscimus, judicium hominis ultimum liberè determinari: quando enim adest potentia, faciendi quod ultimum illud judicium liberè a nobis determinatum dictat, & non faciendi, seu omittendi, quod ultimo illo judicio non esse faciendum decernitur, homo plenâ fruitur libertate: solummodo controverti-

vertitur, an illud judicium, quod homo liberè format, & quo actiones ejus determinantur, sit actio intellectus, an voluntatis: sic disquireretur solummodo utra explicatio cum philosophicâ ἀκριβείᾳ melius conciliari posset, in re ipsa autem foret consensus. Si verò dicamus, omnem actionem intellectus esse necessariam, & ultimum illud judicium practicum esse merum intellectus actum, ac per illud voluntatem determinari; non video, quomodo ulla in homine reliqua sit libertas. Actiones enim omnes determinantur à voluntate, nisi homo aut cohibeatur quo minus facere possit quod vult, aut cogatur facere quod non vult; cohibitio enim & coactio, ut rectè observas, repugnant libertati: & quando nostri juris sumus semper facimus quod volumus. Si autem voluntas determinatur ab intellectu, & intellectus actio sit necessaria; omnia erunt necessaria: nam a principio necessario, hoc est, judicio intellectus, determinatur voluntas; a voluntate actiones: itaque homo ad actiones suas determinatus est; & licet potentiam habeat faciendi quod vult, & non faciendi quod non vult; potentia tamen illa, per antecedentem voluntatis determinationem ad unum determinata est. Atque sic mera in actionibus hominis regnaret necessitas. Prolixior paulo fui; sed prolixitatem, ut perspicuè mentem meam explicarem, evitare vix potui. Si alicubi mentem tuam non rectè aut non

plenè percepi, aut me à veritate aberrare credis, me liberè moneas & instruas, rogo: veritatem enim unicè sector. Et quoniam nunc pleniùs mentem meam explicui, brevius quicquid tibi non probetur indicare posses. Ut verò pleniùs sententiam nostram percipias, suaserim ut legas brevem Episcopii tractatum de Libero Arbitrio, qui exstat in vol. i. part. 2. p. 198. Operum ejus; & Epistolam illius, qua judicium suum profert de loco quodam ethices non edito: quæ est IOLV. inter Epistolas nostras Ecclesiasticas & Theologicas. Reliqua libri tui mihi valdè probantur, multumque me ex illius lectione profecisse gratus agnosco. Lectionem ejus repetere statui. Verùm versio Gallica multum Latinæ præstat; eam ego subindè consulo, quando Latina obscurior est, sive interpretis sive typographi culpa. Quæ epistolæ tuæ inclusa sunt errata, & additamentum de indifferentia, nescio an in privatum meum usum miseris, an vero ut imprimantur. Verùm ego puto te sententiam nostram de indifferentiâ non rectè percepisse, ideoque eam in hac epistola pleniùs & distinctiùs explicui. Sed tandem manum de tabula. Vale, vir amplissime. Uxor & filia te plurimùm salvere jubent. Salutem à nobis officiosissimam dices D. Masham totique familiæ.

Amstelod. 11 *Oct.* 1701.

Tui amantissimus,
P. à LIMBORCH.

PHI-

PHILIPPO *à* LIMBORCH
JOANNES LOCKE *S.P.D.*

Vir amplissime,

GRatissimam epistolam tuam 11 Oct. datam legi relegique, & te auctore perlegi Episcopii tractatum de Libero Arbitrio. Non tam magnificè de me sentio, ut audeam in tantorum virorum scriptis quicquam reprehendere; fateor tamen nonnulla & in illius dissertatione & in tua epistola occurrere, quæ si coram tibi adessem, explicari a te peroptarem ut meliùs perspicere possem quomodo inter se & cum rei veritate consistere possint. Sed si singula quæ in hoc argumento in aliorum scriptis suboriri possunt dubia persequi velim, & pensiculatius ad trutinam revocare, in volumen abiret epistola: nec meum est aliorum opiniones convellere (quarum ignarus in scribendo nec aliorum sententiam fugi, nec autoritatem secutus sum) sed solum mea cogitata, quantum ex rebus ipsis perspicere possum, rebus ipsis conformare. Hæc causa esse potest quòd inconsultis auctoribus, & mea mecum meditatus terminis & loquendi formulis hoc in subjecto familiaribus non sum usus. Hoc mihi ignoscendum postulo. Nec Episcopii acutissimi, cujus memoria summa apud me

in

in veneratione eſt, mentionem hîc feciſſem niſi te ſuaſore tractatum ejus de libero arbitrio perlegiſſem quem tuum feciſti, tuamque der omnia ſententiam continere mihi notum feciſſes.

Hæc à me præfanda erant ne forſan videar aliorum ſcripta, qui me in hoc argumento præceſſerunt inſolenter nimis negligere, vel non ſatis eorum authoritati tribuere; quòd à meo animo, & à mea mediocritate, & eſt & eſſe debet remotiſſimum. Fateor ego non ſector nomina, ſed ubique veritati litans, eamque quacunque ducit unicè ſequor: ideoque gratias tibi ago maximas quòd me ubi errâſſe exiſtimas in viam reducere conaris.

Primum & præcipuum quod in noviſſima hac tua epiſtola culpare videris eſt mea definitio *libertatis* quam dicis *nimis eſſe anguſtam*. An tua laxior eſt quam illa quam ego lib. 2. c. xxi. §. 8, & 12. tradidi, tum videbimus cum tu illam proferes. Nam quod dicis *libertatem eſſe dominium quod homo habet in quamcunque ſuam actionem*, hoc mihi non videtur eſſe definitio libertatis, quum nihil aliud dicit niſi hominem habere dominium in actiones ſuas quod habet; quod huc tantum redit, libertatem eſſe libertatem quam homo habet in quamcunque ſuam actionem; quo evenire poteſt ut nulla omnino ſit hominis libertas: ſcis enim eſſe aliquos qui negant

negant hominem ullum in actiones ſuas habere dominium, ſed omnia præſtituto & ineluctabili duci fato. Quòd ſi dicas te ſupponere hominem habere dominium in actiones ſuas, & in eo conſiſtere libertatem; tunc rogo quid ſit dominium hominis in actiones ſuas? *Dominium* enim, ſive ſit vox tralatitia, ſive ob aliquam aliam cauſam, mihi videtur æquè ſi non magis obſcura quam vox Libertas, ideoque non minus eget definitione. Et ſic pergam rogando donec perventum erit ad ſimplices ideas, ex quibus conflatur idea libertatis.

Video ex hac tua epiſtola quanta ſit vis conſuetudinis, & quâ conſtantiâ non cogitantibus, etiam & invitis irrepit. Fateris & candidè fateris, voluntatem eſſe animæ facultatem, & facultates non eſſe agentes: & tamen, ut alia omittam, hîc dicis, *ſi mea definitio libertatis agnoſcatur certum eſt libertatem nullo modo competere voluntati.* Voluntati enim nullo modo competere poteſt libertas, niſi pro agente agnoſcatur. Quippe agentium ſolummodo eſt libertas. Scio te Epiſcopii exemplo poſſe teipſum excuſare, qui in principio diſſertationis ſuæ ſtrenuè rejiciens facultatum operationes ſubinde tamen relabitur in argumentationes quibus ſupponuntur agentes: permitte tamen ut amicè moneam niſi hoc maximè caveas multum in hac materia tibi faceſſes negotium, & tenebras ſæpiſſime tibi offundes.

Ad

Ad reliqua de quibus dubitare videris, ne in longitudinem molemque nimiam extendatur responsio, rectiùs me & compendiosiùs satisfacturum credo, si aliquas hic illic capiti xxi. inseram explicationes quibus animi mei sensum negligentiùs forsan vel obscuriùs traditum clariorem reddam, adeo ut festinanti etiam, uti fit, lectori inposterum pateat, modo quæ tradita sunt memoria tenere non dedignetur. Hæc cùm tu attentè perlegeris, & cum reliquis quæ in isto capite exposui contuleris, plenè tibi satisfactum iri spero. Quod si quæ postea tibi remanserint dubia, & aliqua restant quæ vel obscura nimis, quorum te fugit sensus, vel parum veritati congrua quibus assensum præbere non potes, moneas rogo, ut aut te auctore corrigam, aut ulteriùs explicando, veritatem suâ propriâ luce nitentem tibi ante oculos ponam.

Si qua sunt in epistola tua ad quæ non satis distinctè responsum à me credas, ignoscas rogo valetudini parum firmæ, quæ languidiorem me & ad scribendum minus aptum reddit. Quanquam spero ex annexis explicationibus, ex quibus mentem meam percipies, perspicuum tibi fore quid ad singulas dubitationes tuas respondi possit. Vale, vir optime, & ut facis me ama

Tui studiosissimum,

Oates, 19 Nov. 1701.

J. LOCKE.

Jo-

JOANNI LOCKE
PHILIPPUS *à* LIMBORCH *S.P.D.*

Vir Amplissime,

QUòd lectionem tractatus Episcopii de libero arbitrio tibi commendaverim, id eo fine non feci, ut viri illius auctoritate contra te utar; nihil minus: scio enim in sincera veritatis inquisitione nullam valere auctoritatem humanam, sed tantum momenta rationum quibus veritas adstruitur. Nec ego, licet Episcopii sententiam approbem, vellem illius auctoritate constringi, ut omnia, etiam quæ salva principali veritate in dubium vocari possunt admittam, nedum phrasibus ac loquendi formulis ab ipso usurpatis alligari me patiar. Sed illius legendi tibi auctor fui, ut ex illo cognosceres, nos jam a multo tempore renuntiâsse illi sententiæ, quæ statuit animam intermediis facultatibus agere; sed asseruisse tecum, animam immediatè per seipsam intelligere ac velle. Unde cognoscere posses, quando communem loquendi usum secuti utimur vocibus intellectus ac voluntatis, nos iis non intelligere facultates realiter ab anima distinctas; sed ipsas intelligendi ac volendi actiones quas anima immediatè ex seipsa elicit. Hoc ego etiam brevioribus verbis significatum

dedi

dedi in Theologia mea Christiana lib. ii. cap. xxiii. §. 1, 2. Itaque si per incogitantiam ex inveterata consuetudine mihi forte exciderit, voluntatem esse liberam, rogo ut id meo sensu accipias, ac si dixissem actio volendi est libera, seu homo in elicienda actione volendi est liber: ac proinde pro verbis meis, si tua libertatis definitio agnoscatur, *certum est libertatem nullo modo competere voluntati*, hæc substituas, *certum est actionem volendi neutiquam esse liberam, seu, hominem non liberè velle.* Gratias interim tibi ago, quòd inconsideratam hanc meam locutionem mihi indicaveris: ego annitar ut in posterum omnem ambiguam locutionem vitem, & ab inolitâ loquendi consuetudine non abripiar; ne ulla in verbis meis sit obscuritas.

Libertatem ego definivi per dominium in actiones: quia vox Dominii tibi explicatione indigere videtur, simpliciùs dico, libertatem esse facultatem hominis actionem suam vel eliciendi, vel non eliciendi: qui alterutrum tantum potest, non est liber. Per actionem autem ego intelligo actionem quamcunque, etiam actiones internas intelligendi ac volendi: circa quascunque actiones non habet homo hanc facultatem eas vel eliciendi vel non eliciendi, sed alterutrum tantum potest hæ non sunt liberæ: & quia illi hanc facultatem tribuo circa actiones volendi, ideo eas libe-

liberas voco; quando hac facultate homo deſtitutus eſt, libere nec vult, nec velle poteſt.

Utinam facultas eſſet coram tecum de omnibus his differendi, & ex ore tuo pleniorem omnium circa quæ hæſito explanationem audiendi; meamque ſententiam, ac loquendi phraſes diſtinctè explicandi, non dubito quin feliciùs totam hanc quæſtionem terminare poſſemus. Nunc etiam circa ea, quæ explicationis gratia addidiſti, hæſito, an ſtatuas, judicium illud, quo formato non ampliùs in homine libertas eſt non volendi, ſit actio mera intelligendi, eaque intelligendi actio ſit libera vel neceſſaria: ſi in ea eliçienda hominem liberum agnoſcas, non video quis inter nos, quoad ſummam rei, maneat diſſenſus. Sed coram poſſemus hæc diſtinctiùs & exactiùs expendere; idque maximè percuperem, ut uterque in hac materia quanta fieri poteſt perſpicuitate nos explicemus, & difficultatibus hinc inde oborientibus occurramus. Nunc quoniam utriuſque ætas id neutiquam permittit, quæ miſiſti, ſemper quando de hac materia ago conſulam, ne aut ipſe errem, aut aliis inconſiderata loquendi ratione errandi occaſionem præbeam. Vale, vir ampliſſime. Salutat te uxor ac filia, omneſque proſperam tibi precamur valetudinem. Generoſo Domino Maſham gratulamur continuatam digni-

dignitatem : illi, ut & Dominæ Masham totique familiæ, ut annus hic ex voto fluat precamur.

Amstelod. 3 *Jan.* 1702. *Tui Amantissimus,*

P. à LIMBORCH.

PHILIPPO *à* LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE *S.P.D.*

Vir amplissime,

DE valetudine satis constanti quod scribis maximè lætor, & quòd palpitatio illa cordis molesta ampliùs non fuerit gaudeo. Quæ ad sanitatem tuendam faciunt tam rectè & prudenter moderaris, ut sperem te diu ab illo aliisque morbis tutum & sospitem futurum; præcipuè si dictæ mediocritati venæ sectionem, si plethoram vel sentias vel metuas, quotiescunque inde malum ingruit, addere velis.

Nunc demum si placet ad diu intermissa studia redeamus. Habeo jam præ manibus literas tuas 3 Januarii datas, in quibus videris mihi dubitare, an ego statuam hominem esse in volendo vel in intelligendo liberum; ita enim quæstionem tuam interpretor: etiam tu rogas an actio volendi vel intel-

intelligendi ſit libera? Ad quam quæſtionem ſic reſpondeo:

1. Generaliter, nempe quòd meâ ſententiâ homo in omni actione tam volendi quam intelligendi liber eſt, ſi ab actione illa volendi aut intelligendi potuit abſtinuiſſe; ſi non, non.

2. Specialiùs, quoad voluntatem, aliqui ſunt caſus in quibus homo non poteſt non velle, & in omnibus iſtis volendi actibus homo non eſt liber, quia non poteſt non agere. In cæteris ubi potuit velle vel non velle liber eſt.

3. Quoad actus intelligendi, in iſta voce *intelligendi* ſuſpicor latere amphiboliam, nam ſignificare poteſt actionem cogitandi de aliquo ſubjecto; & in iſto ſenſu homo plerumque liber eſt in iſtiuſmodi actionibus intellectus. V. g. poſſum cogitare de peccato Adami vel inde amovere cogitationem meam ad urbem Romam, vel ad artem bellicam præſentis ſeculi. In quibus omnibus & hujuſmodi aliis infinitis liber ſum, quia pro libitu meo poſſum de hoc vel illo cogitare vel non cogitare. Vel actus intelligendi poteſt ſumi pro ea actione qua percipio aliquid eſſe verum, & in hac actione intelligendi, v. g. quòd tres anguli trianguli ſunt æquales duobus rectis, homo non eſt liber, qui excuſſa demonſtratione non poteſt non hoc intelligere. Homo poteſt plerumque non aperire

 ocu-

oculos, vel non advertere aciem oculorum ad hoc vel illud objectum, verùm apertis & conversis ad solem vel lunam oculis, necessariò videt & splendorem & figuram quæ se offert intuitui videndam. Quod de oculis dixi ad intellectum transferre licet. Par utrinque est ratio. Sed de his hactenus. Si satisfactum tibi sit gaudeo. Sin dubia restent utere libertate tuâ, ego paratus sum & in his & in omnibus quantum in me est tibi obtemperare.

Oates, 28 *Sept.* 1702.

Tui studiosissimus,

J. LOCKE.

JOANNI LOCKE
PHILIPPUS *à* LIMBORCH *S.P.D.*

Vir amplissime,

MUltis me obruis beneficiis, quorum memoriam nulla unquam eluet ætas. Ego hactenus Dei gratiâ bene valeo: ante septem circiter hebdomadas plethoram mihi molestam sensi, sine tamen gravi cordis palpitatione: quare venæ sectionem adhibui, atque ita omnis illa molestia evanuit.

1. Quæ de libertate hominis in actione intelligendi ac volendi scribis, tecum verissima agnosco; nimirum in omnibus actionibus

nibus, à quibus homo potuit abſtinuiſſe, eſſe liberum: minime verò ſi abſtinuiſſe non potuit.

2. Similiter, quoſdam eſſe caſus, in quibus homo non poteſt non velle, & non agere; quia facultate non agendi deſtitutus eſt. Sed verò in omnibus actibus obedientiæ ab ipſo præſtandis, & ob quos non præſtitos pœnæ reus fit, liberum credo, neque quemquam poſſe reum pœnæ fieri, ob non præſtitum actum ſibi minimè poſſibilem, aut ob præſtitum ſibi inevitabilem: nihil enim homini magis liberum eſſe debet, quam id ob quod pœnæ reus redditur.

3. Hominem eſſe liberum, ut contemplationem vel cogitationem ſuam ab uno objecto avertat & in aliud dirigat, atque hoc reſpectu in actionibus intellectus liberum dici poſſe, tecum agnoſco: Verùm hæc actio, ſi accuratè loqui velimus, propriè eſt actio volendi, non intelligendi: avertit enim homo cogitationes ſuas ab uno objecto, & in aliud dirigit, quia non vult priores cogitationes continuare, & quia vult novas inchoare. Quod verò actionem intelligendi attinet, quâ homo aliquid percipit eſſe verum, eam rectè dicis non eſſe liberam: idque locum habet tam in percipiendis iis quæ philoſophi per ſolam intelligentiam cognoſci dicunt; ut, bis duo ſunt quatuor; idem non poteſt ſimul eſſe & non eſſe, &c. quam

illis quæ excuſſa demonſtratione cognoſci optimè dicis; videl. tres angulos trianguli eſſe æquales duobus rectis. Idem etiam locum habere cenſeo in aliis intelligendi actionibus, quando res eſt obſcura aut dubia, & nullæ ſunt rationes eam evidenter probantes, aut pro utraque ſententia rationes ſunt æqualis ponderis; tum enim homo neceſſariò aut ſuſpenſus eſt aut dubitat, aut leviter tantum aſſentitur, ita tamen ut falli poſſe ſe credat. Adeo ut intelligendi actio accommodata ſit rationibus ac argumentis, quorum pondere in hanc aut illam partem inclinatur. Qualia plurima ſunt in vita humana. Et actio illa intelligendi non mutatur, quamdiu non accedunt novæ rationes, aut rationum quibus rei veritas innititur, clarior & evidentior perceptio. Non nego tamen in ejuſmodi cognitione inevidenti fieri poſſe, quin & ſæpiùs contingere, ut nullâ accedente nova luce, aut magis diſtincta perceptione, homo aut eliciat plenum aſſenſum, aut opinionem ſuam mutet: verùm illa mutatio judicii aut aſſenſus, non procedit ab actione aliqua intelligendi, ſed volendi; quia nimirum homo, licet nova ratione minime illuſtratus judicium ſuum in alteram partem inclinare vult. Scimus affectus noſtros valde inclinare judicium noſtrum: itaq; indulgendo affectui cuipiam qui me in alteram partem impellit, eo etiam judicium & aſ-

ſenſum meum inclinare poſſum. Atque ita judicium hoc meum erit actio mixta, partim intelligendi, partim volendi: quatenus intelligendi eſt actio, ſeu rem percipit, eſt neceſſaria: verùm quicquid in judicio liberum eſt, procedit ab actione volendi: quatenus ſcilicet ego rationibus allatis acquieſcere volo, ut judicium feram. Qualem actionem mixtam ego etiam credo fidem noſtram eſſe, prout explicui in Theol. mea Chriſt. lib. v. cap. ix. §. 21, 22, 23. ibique pleniùs oſtendo, quomodo actio intelligendi & volendi in fide chriſtiana concurrunt: ſolummodo ex inveterata loquendi conſuetudine, uſus ſum vocibus intellectus & voluntatis, quibus actiones intelligendi & volendi deſigno, juxta ea quæ jam declaraveram lib. ii. cap. xxiii. §. 1, 2. Hæc ſic diſtinctè conſideranda exiſtimo: verùm nolim ego multum contendere, utrum illa libertas etiam ſit dicenda ineſſe actioni intelligendi, dummodo conſtet hominem in actione illâ liberum eſſe: & hominem liberè ab una cogitatione ſe convertere in alteram. Diſtinctione tamen hâc adhibitâ puto rem dilucidiùs explicari. Et ſic etiam ſimilitudo tua ab oculis deſumpta pleniùs applicatur: quod enim homo non aperiat oculos, aut oculorum aciem non advertat, hoc facit quia ita vult: oculi autem quando aperiuntur & in objectum diriguntur, illud, quale ſe oculis repræſentat neceſ-

ſario conſpiciunt: ſi in debita diſtantia oculis objiciatur, etiam neceſſario diſtinctè videtur: ſi nimis remotum ſit, diſtinctè videri non poteſt; neque homo libertatem habet procurandi ut objectum in tali diſtantia ipſi diſtinctè appareat: ſed ſi diſtinctè contemplari velit, libertatem habet propiùs accedendi. In his puto nos conſentire: atque ita in ſumma rei nullum eſſe diſſenſum, licet forſitan in modo explicandi aliqua diſcrepantia ſit. Vale, vir ampliſſime, & ſalve ab uxore, filiâ, & me

Amſtelod. 27 *Oct.* 1702.

Tui amantiſſimo,
P. à LIMBORCH.

JOANNI LOCKE
PHILIPPUS *à* LIMBORCH *S.P.D.*

Vir ampliſſime,

POſtquam afflicta tua valetudo, præſertim in extremâ ſenectute nos admodum de te ſollicitos habuit, tandem gratior paulo nuntius nos recreavit, calore æſtatis, qui tamen nunc apud nos calorem vernum non excedit, te nonnihil reſpirare, & meliuſcule te habere. Utinam firmam tibi valetudinem concedat benignum numen, ut quos vitæ tuæ adjicere dignabitur dies iis, quibus te conſecrâſti, ſtudiis impendas, & donec hujus

hujus vitæ usura frueris doctissimis tuis lucubrationibus orbi christiano inservire possis! Quæ tu concordiæ christianæ jecisti semina, licet nunc ab ingratis conculcentur gratæ posteritati fructus suos ferent. Quod licet mens mihi certo præsagiat, nihilominus quando servilia plurimorum, & pro autoritate humana decertantia ingenia considero, ægrè sperare licet, eos depositis præjudiciis & affectibus, animo puro ac sincero momenta rationum quibus veritas nititur ponderaturos, ac uni veritati candidè cessuros. Etiam reformatos, qui sese opponendo Papatui nulla se humana auctoritate constringi velle aut posse, protestati sunt, nimium humanæ auctoritati tribuere, scriptaque humana majore quam par est in veneratione habere, actus singulis trieniis in patria nostra repetitus, & cujus solennem repetitionem novellæ nostrates paucas ante hebdomadas nobis retulerunt, argumentum est omni exceptione majus: cujus quoniam nunc recens memoria est quia illius narrationem tibi non ingratam fore confido, licet res ipsa maximè displiceat, eam distinctiùs & cum præcipuis circumstantiis describam. Jam anno CIↃ IↃCXXV. Ordines Generales decreverunt, ut singulis trienniis acta authentica synodi Dordracenæ, quæ Hagæ asservantur, à deputatis ordinum & ecclesiarum inspiciantur; postquam deinde anno

CIↃ

CIↃ IↃ CXXXVII. prodiit nova bibliorum verſio, juſſu ejuſdem ſynodi adornata, illius etiam exemplar, a tranſlatoribus & reviſoribus, hunc in finem Lugdunum evocatis, ultimò correctum, quod Lugduni Batavorum aſſervatur, inſpici ſolet. Redeunte itaque quolibet triennio deputati ſynodorum Hollandiæ Auſtralis & Borealis cœtum convocant ex omnium provinciarum eccleſiis, necnon ex eccleſia Walonica. Hi patres conſcripti ubi convenere, præſidi Ordinum Generalium adventum fratrum indicant: precibus à paſtore loci, ſi cœtus membrum ſit, habitis, & literis credentialibus lectis, præſes & ſcriba eliguntur. Præcedentis cœtus acta prælegunturr: exinde deputati cœtus ad Ordines Generales mittuntur, ut ſcriptorum ſynodalium viſionem petant, & ut aliquos è collegio ſuo ad eam deputent, locum & tempus ſtatuant, quin & per epiſtolam conſules Lugdunenſes præmoneant, & Collegii regentem, unius clavis cuſtodem, ut adſit, quando Lugdunum convenient ad inſpiciendum autographa verſionis. His peractis certâ a deputatis Ordinum conſtitutâ horâ comparent in Ordd. Generalium camerâ; primò funduntur preces, quibus Deo gratiæ aguntur, quòd eccleſiam reformatam a variis erroribus purgaverit, quòd ſynodum ipſis conceſſerit, cujus acta authentica in præcedente cœtu

adhuc

adhuc incorrupta conſpexerunt ; & quoniam nunc convenerunt ut ea denuo inſpiciant, oratur Deus ut gratiam hanc ipſis concedat, ut integra æque ac incorrupta ab ipſis conſpiciantur, perinde uti ante triennium conſpecta fuere. Poſtquam ſcripta inſpecta ſunt, gratiæ Deo pro tanto beneficio aguntur, idque depoſitum denuo tutelæ divinæ committitur, ut in proximo cœtu æquè ſincerum atque incorruptum reperiatur prout nunc deponitur. Poſtridie Lugdunum proficiſcuntur, & à Magiſtratu in curiam adſciti authentica verſionis inſpiciunt. Hæc inſpectio ſimilibus precibus inchoatur ac finitur. Exin lauto excipiuntur convivio, in quo a præſide cœtus & ſcriba deputatis Ordinum & magiſtratus Lugdunenſis gratiæ aguntur. Hagam reverſi in actis ſcribunt, ſcripta illis integra adhuc, & a vermibus, tineâ & muribus inviolata eſſe reperta : atque ita cœtui finis imponitur. Hæc eſt illa triennalis ſolennitas, viſioni ſcriptorum ſynodalium deſtinata ; quam paulo diſtinctius, variiſque circumſtantiis veſtitam tibi ſcribere volui, ut quanta veneratione ſynodæ illius famoſæ reliquiæ hîc aſſerventur, cognoſcas. Hæc ego excerpſi ex narratione cujuſdam miniſtri, qui ipſe cœtus illius membrum fuit, ſcripta inſpexit, & in quorundam amicorum gratiam hanc hiſtoriolam ſcripto conſignavit. Cui etiam conſonant

nant aliorum qui ſolemnitati illi interfuerunt relationes. Non credo Romæ tanta cum veneratione tantiſque ſumptibus acta concilii Tridentini inſpici. Ridenda hæc forent, ſi quorundam privatorum inconſiderato zelo agerentur; nunc, quia auctoritate publica fiunt, dolenda ſunt. Quid Gallica ſynodus nuperrimè contra D. Clerici verſionem Gallicam Novi Teſtamenti ejuſque notas decreverit, quam frivolæ illius ſint criminationes, quam plenè brevi ſcripto edito eas D. Clericus refutaverit, ipſe tibi aut jam ſcripſit, aut brevi, ut credo, ſcripturus eſt. Hæc ſimiliaque quando conſidero, bonæ conſcientiæ ſtudio acquieſcendum, & neglectis hominum iniquorum molitionibus, veritati ac paci indefeſſo ſtudio unicè litandum, laborumque noſtrorum benedictionem a ſolo Deo, qui è tenebris lucem eruere poteſt expectandam eſſe certus ſum. Illius te tutelæ commendo, illum oro ut omnia tibi largiatur fauſta ac ſalutaria, nec non honoratiſſimæ in qua vivis familiæ. Salutant te, Dominum ac Dominam Maſham, unà cum digniſſima filia ac filio, uxor ac filia. Salutem etiam à me dices D°. Coſte.

Amſtelod. 21 *Jun.* 1704.

Tui amantiſſimus,

P. à LIMBORCH.

PHI-

PHILIPPO *à* LIMBORCH.
JOANNES LOCKE *S.P.D.*

Vir amplissime,

PUdet me sane tam diuturni silentii nec ab infirma & planè fracta valetudine satis excusatum credo, etiamsi admixta etiam aliqua tui reverentia me a scribendo aliquantulum detinuit satis ex ipso morbo desidiosum. Quorsum enim attinet te eruditioribus sermonibus aptum & commerciis literarum docto liberoque animo dignis, ægrotantis querelis, laboriosisque verbis anhelum scriptorem redolentibus fatigare? Juvat tamen experiri amicitiam tuam, veterem amicum etiamsi senio & morbo mutilum ad sepulcrum usque prosequi. Nihil sane jucundius, nec est quod magis animum debilem & languescentem refocillat, quam constans & vegeta amicorum benevolentia; magnum perfugium humanæ fragilitatis, in quo reperitur magna pars voluptatis, cùm reliqua planè insipida sunt & frustra sollicitantur. Gratissimæ igitur mihi fuerunt epistolæ tuæ benevolentiæ & amicitiæ plenæ, nec quantum ex illis solatii perceperim ex taciturnitate mea sed ex voluptate quam profiteor judicare debes. Ea enim infirmi corporis morbus est, hoc sentientis grati & animi testimonium.

Etiamsi

Etiamſi ſervilium ingeniorum, humana venerantium, exempla cumulatè ſatis mihi obtulit longa dies, nec melior omnino mihi ſpes eſt de futuro; donec placuerit Deo optimo maximo ex miſericordia ſua ſecundo filii ſui adventu reſtaurare eccleſiam; maximè tamen mihi placuit hiſtoria iſta quam in noviſſimis tuis perſcripſiſti. Actus ille triennalis cum omni ſuo apparatu partim ridiculo, partim ſuperſtitioſo, habet in ſe quod & ſtomachum & ſplenem moveat: certè cum omnibus ſuis circumſtantiis ita graphicè depictus conſervari debet, etiam ubi commodè fieri poteſt typis mandari & in publicum prodire, ut quod privatim obtinet, oculis hominum obverſetur & pudefiant qui ſic ſacris illudunt, Deique nomen ſacroſanctum, placitis inventiſque ſuis audacter præfigunt. Vitam tibi in utilitatem religionis longam validamque, & in uſum familiæ & amicorum tuorum animitus precor, uti & omnia proſpera tibi tuiſque. Optimam tuam fœminam filiamque reliquoſque amicos noſtros meo nomine rogo officioſiſſimè ſalutes. Hæc tota familia te tuoſque ſalutat. Vale, vir ampliſſime, & me ama

Oates, 4 *Auguſt*, 1704.

Tui amantiſſimum,

J. LOCKE.

F I N I S.